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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Some Economic Implications of the Conflict between Church and State in *Trecento* Florence . . Marvin B. Becker 1
After His Ymage — The Central Ironies of the *Friar's Tale* . . . . Earle Birney 17
The Latin Revisions of Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* . W. F. Bolton 36
An Old French Poetic Version of the Life and Miracles of Saint Magloire . . . A. J. Denomy and J. Brückmann 53
The Relationship of the Latin Versions of Ruysbroek's *Die Geestelike Brulocht* to *The Chastising of God's Children* . . . . G. B. De Soer 129
The Tractatus *De Assumpto Homine* by Magister Vacarius . . . . Nicholas M. Haring 147
Satan the Fowler . . . . B. G. Koonce 176
A Neglected Thomistic Text on the Foundation of Mathematics . . . . Armand Maurer C. S. B. 185
Pronouns of Address in the *Canterbury Tales* . Norman Nathan 193
The Earliest Plan of the *Canterbury Tales* . Charles A. Owen Jr. 202
Thomistic Common Nature and Platonic Idea Joseph Owens C. S. S. R. 211
The *Tafurs* and the First Crusade . . . . . Lewis A. M. Sumberg 224
The Personnel of Mediaeval Reform: The English Lords Ordainers of 1310 . . . . John H. Trueman 247
A Debate of the Body and the Soul in Old Norse Literature . . . Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen 272

MEDIAEVALIA

Remarks on Bishop Thomas Brinton's Authorship of the Sermons in MS Harley 3760 . . William J. Brandt 291
A Fifteenth-Century Book of Hours-Missal . J. Reginald O'Donnell 296
The Burial-Place of St. Lewinna . . . . George R. Stephens 303

AUG 11 X

Some Economic Implications of the Conflict Between Church and State in "Trecento" Florence

MARVIN B. BECKER

IN Florence, during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were alternate periods of oligarchical control and popular rule. In part, these changes stemmed from modifications in the personnel of the various *Signorie* that formulated communal policy. These shifts were also encouraged by economic and political developments that occurred beyond the boundaries of the Florentine Republic. The impact of these mutations was felt in many areas of communal politics — not the least of which was that of the relations between church and state. The present inquiry will describe a neglected aspect of this relationship: the economic implications of periodic disagreements between the various Florentine *Signorie* and the church.

Florentine politics from the end of the *Dugento* to the overthrow of the most democratic government in communal history (1382), was characterized by both conflict and cooperation between certain of the *novi cives* and the urban patriciate.[1] The policies of the newcomers were directed towards the institutionalization of the impersonal rule of communal law, while the political actions of the patriciate were more sensitive to changing historical circumstances and, therefore, they tended to be pragmatic in their approach towards communal politics. During certain intervals, especially from 1343 to 1348 (the so-called "democratic interlude"), when larger numbers of *novi cives* shared office with members of the urban patriciate, the *Signoria* demonstrated a singular lack of regard for special privilege — both corporate and personal. A possible explanation for the political actions taken by these *parvenus* stems from the fact that they did not have close ties with the privileged classes. Unlike their

[1] For bibliography on this subject see G. Brucker and M. Becker, 'The *Arti Minori* in Florentine Politics, 1342-1348,' *Mediaeval Studies* (1956) pp. 93-4. Eras when large numbers of new men entered communal politics can be characterized by the term "popular." The legislative enactments of the typical popular *Signoria* had as their objectives, among others, the equalization of taxation, the extension of communal jurisdiction over the *contado*, the recovery of communal property and the punishment of those who perpetrated frauds and who abused public trust. There was no fundamental change in the goals of popular government whether it was established in 1293 or 1343. For a consideration of this problem as it affected Florence at the end of the thirteenth century, see N. Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze alla fine del dugento* (Florence 1926) pp. 278 ff.

social superiors, the patricians, they were not bound by marriage or business connections to the nobility nor were they well-represented among the upper-reaches of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[2] The higher clergy of Florence were drawn exclusively from the ranks of the old established families and while this was a factor that influenced certain of the decisions made by oligarchical *Signorie* in which the patriciate exercised virtual political hegemony, it had little effect upon the policies formulated by the *novi cives* when they served in a popular *Signoria*.[3] These newcomers to the arena of Florentine politics were selected from the upper strata of the middle class and were, for the most part, affluent traffickers and manufacturers in domestic goods.[4] Therefore, they were little affected by the reprisals that were taken by the church against the great Florentine international traders and bankers (*popolani grassi*) at times when the *Signoria* deliberately sought to curtail traditional ecclesiastical liberties. For these reasons it is not surprising to discover that during eras of popular government, when the *novi cives* were well-represented in the *Signoria*, legislation was enacted that was calculated to limit the rights and prerogatives of the church.

At no time during the period under consideration, except for the brief hour of the Ciompi, did the *novi cives* hold a majority of the important political offices and, therefore, when legislation against ecclesiastical liberties was passed, it was necessary to have the support of a large segment of the patriciate in order to gain the two-thirds majority that was required by the Florentine constitution. Explanations that have been advanced by scholars have tended to ignore this fact and have emphasized the anti-clericalism of the lower orders (*il popolo minuto*) as a motive force for the enactment of this type of legislation.[5] Not only is this hypothesis undemonstrable in terms of the evidence now available to the researcher, but it also presumes that a popular *Signoria* was dominated by elements of the lower classes who were animated by a profound hostility towards the church. It is important to take cognizance of the fact that even during "democratic interludes" members of the patriciate held approximately one half of all communal offices.[6] Therefore, any legislation that was directed against the church required at least the tacit support of the representatives of this class rather than the adherence of the *minuti* who were without direct representation when these laws were enacted. An inquiry into the possible motives of the patriciate indicates that their actions in this matter were not unrelated to their immediate interests and to the practical exigencies of the times. In 1345-46, when the most severe legislation in communal history was introduced against ecclesiastical liberties, the great Florentine companies were being forced into a state of bankruptcy.[7] One of the primary purposes of these laws was to protect the assets of the patrician companies from the claims of their ecclesiastical creditors.[8] The fact that Florentine relations with the papacy were particularly strained at this time and that the Guelph system of alliances with Naples and Avignon had collapsed, meant that the patriciate had little to lose when they supported these policies. They may have also been encouraged to take this position as a result of the desperate plight of communal finances. The opportunity to tax the clergy and to avoid contributing substantially towards the subsidization of papal foreign ventures would materially improve the state of the treasury.

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[2] Bishops and other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were selected, for the most part, from the upper-reaches of Florentine and Tuscan society. Cf. Luca Giuseppe Cerracchini, *Cronologia Sacra de' Vescovi e Archivescovi* (Florence 1716) pp. 102 ff.

[3] During periods of oligarchical rule, there were certain areas in which the *popolani grassi* and the nobility cooperated. Frequently, there was no sharp economic or social cleavage between these two classes. This lack of antipathy, coupled with the fact that each held important church offices, suggests a reason for the absence of legislation against "ecclesiastical liberty" during eras when the oligarchs were in power. For examples of political and economic cooperation between *magnati* and *popolani grassi*, see A. Sapori, *La crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi* (Florence 1926) pp. 146-7.

[4] Some light can be cast upon the economic status of the *novi cives* who entered the government in 1343 when it is realized that they were among the principal creditors of the Republic. According to the *Monte* (vols. 1-4), their credits averaged fifty-seven florins. Since a typical shop rented for three to four florins a year, their credits represented a considerable sum. Cf. A. Sapori, *Studi di storia economica medievale* (Florence 1946) pp. 404-8. These affluent members of the *gente nuova* showed their concern for the economic welfare of their class by repealing existing statutes that fixed the price of goods and services directly connected with their own forms of economic activity. Cf. M. Becker, 'A study of monopolies in Florence during the middle years of the trecento,' to be published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. The oligarchs, on the other hand, used their power in the *Signoria*, when they were in control, to reverse this policy.

(The documents referred to in this article are to be found in the *Archivio di Stato in Firenze* — except for those specifically designated as being located in other Florentine collections).

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[5] *Il popolo minuto*, whose anticlericalism is referred to by A. Panella and N. Rodolico, are not represented in the popular government at this time, therefore, they played no part in the enactment of any of the measures which were taken against the church. Cf. N. Rodolico, *I ciompi* (Florence 1945) pp. 53 *ff.*; A. Panella, 'Politica ecclesiastica del comune fiorentino,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* II, Part IV (1913) pp. 281-3. Affluent minor guildsmen and the nouveau riche, who were matriculated in the *arti maggiori*, joined forces with the oligarchs as early as 1344 to protect the Acciaiuoli company from the precipitous claims of its ecclesiastical creditors. They appointed Bishop Angelo Acciaiuoli as procurator with full powers to make settlement of these outstanding claims. His clerical status was in no way a deterrent in the minds of those who held office at this time. Contrary opinions concerning the Bishop were held by numerous *contadini* who attacked his eminence while he was traveling through the countryside. This type of antagonism was prevalent among the disenfranchised classes and may have been encouraged by the *Signoria* to gain popular support for its measures against the church at this time. Cf. N. Rodolico, *Il popolo minuto* (Bologna 1899) doc. 22; F. Tocco, *Studii francescani* (Naples 1909) pp. 412-3.

[6] From 1343 to 1348, the most representative government in communal history was established. Despite this relative democratization of Florentine political life, the major guildsmen held over fifty per cent of the important offices. Cf. *Camera del Comune*, 2-30.

[7] Cf. A. Panella, *op. cit.*, p. 305. This objective suggests that anticlerical feeling was not the principal motive behind the passage of these enactments.

[8] Throughout this era, despite this legislation, communal authorities endeavored to cooperate with the ecclesiastical and secular creditors of the bankrupt companies. They went so far as to assume responsibility for 7000 florins of the debt that the Acciaiuoli owed to Cardinal Sabina. *Libri Fabarum*, 26, f. 6r (14 June 1346).

On the other hand, the policies inaugurated by the *novi cives* can be understood only within the context of the total program initiated under popular *Signorie.* While we can not dismiss the fact that these men were influenced by the symbiotic character of Florentine economic life in that their continued prosperity was intimately bound to the well-being of the *popolani grassi*, there are other vital factors that must be carefully considered.[9] During eras when new men were admitted to the *Signoria* in large numbers (1293-95, 1328-29 and 1343-48), communal legislation was enacted that sought to curtail many of the traditional immunities and claims for preferential treatment with an impersonality that was shocking to those who were accustomed to the formulae of a more aristocratic era.[10] Nowhere is this tendency more evident than in the impartial treatment of the Florentine nobility. Oligarchial regimes were mindful of the status of the *grandi* and paid their homage to this most aristocratic segment of society by granting them dispensation from the rigors of communal law.[11] With the advent of the *novi cives* into the *Signoria*, the time-honored claims of the nobility were not only ignored — they were deliberately disregarded.[12] Their accrued status appeared to carry little weight with those men who served in political office during eras of popular government.[13]

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[9] This lack of a sharp economic antithesis between the representatives of the minor and major guilds is treated in G. Brucker and M. Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103. An additional factor that accounts for the unanimity of interests in this area was the control that the Captains of the *Parte Guelfa* exercised over the selection of candidates for office. It is important to note that two, out of the four officials, were members of those companies directly involved in bankruptcy proceedings; Simone Bardi and Simone Antella. Cf. *Tratte*, 138.

[10] The most revealing evidence of this attitude is to be found in the letters of Lapo di Castiglionchio to his son. This leader of the most intransigent wing of the Florentine aristocracy never tired of complaining about the lack of respect that the *novi cives* showed for the traditions of a feudalistic hierarchical society. Cf. P. Jones, 'Florentine families and florentine diaries in the fourteenth century,' *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXIV (1956) pp. 191-2.

[11] *Camera del Comune*, vols. 28-30.

[12] Giovanni Villani blames the newcomers to Florentine politics for the enactment of legislation that compelled certain nobles to restore lands which they had received from the government as a reward for past services that they had rendered the Republic. Cf. *Cronica*, ed. F. Dragomani (Florence 1844) bk. XII, ch. 44.

[13] Cf. N. Ottokar, *op. cit.*, p. 278; *Provvisioni*, 6, f. 76^r; *Lib. Fab.*, 24, fols. 5-6, 7^r-8, 10.

This denial of the antique privileges of the church and nobility was coupled with the evolution of equalitarian and impartial rule. These tendencies are evident in court procedure and administrative practices. The commune sought to recover lands and properties that had fallen into the hands of wealthy oligarchs as a result of decades of lax administration.[14] During the five years that immediately preceded the Black Death, the center of gravity of political authority shifted from the hands of influential oligarchs and came to rest in the state. This process was accelerated by internal political developments that took place during the decade of the forties in Florence. The nobility made two unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the state and, consequently, incurred the enmity of large segments of the populace.[15] The papacy, at this time, pursued policies that were also unpopular with the citizenry. Clement VI persisted in supporting the claims of the much despised tyrant, Walter of Brienne, long after his ouster.[16] Avignon also abandoned the great Florentine companies at the very moment when they were teetering on the brink of bankruptcy.[17] The local clergy, meanwhile, supported Brienne and the *magnati* regime that was established immediately upon his overthrow and, thereby, lost popular favor.[18] This unpopularity was compounded by the activities of the Papal Inquisitor in Tuscany, Pietro dell' Aquila. This official aroused the antipathy of the Florentines by causing the arrest of Salvestro Baroncelli, a partner in the Acciaiuoli Company. This famous banking-house owed large sums of money to certain members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and dell' Aquila, through this action, sought to compel the Acciaiuoli to make full restitution to its clerical creditors.[19] When communal authorities refused to take legal action against the partners, the city was placed under interdict. Each of these factors encouraged the popular *Signoria* to curtail the prerogatives of the clergy in a manner that is reminiscent of the commune's treatment of the immunities of the nobility.

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[14] According to the *provvisioni*, "fear and threats" dissuaded the citizens from making accusations against those "magnates et potentes" who had seized communal property. Cf. *Dupl. Provv.*, 2, fols. 12-12r. Powerful families, such as the Medici, were able to intimidate witnesses and prevent them from testifying in judicial actions of this type. From 1343-48, however, this tendency was checked. Cf. *Provv.*, 42, f. 8. With the downfall of this government, the "potentes" were once again able to escape punishment for occupying communal property. Cf. *Camera del Comune*, 33, f. 99.

[15] Cf. G. Villani, *Cronica*, XI, 118; XII, 19.

[16] L. Leoni, 'Breve di Clemente VI en favore di Gualtiere di Brienne, duca d'Atene,' *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XXII (1875) pp. 181 ff.

[17] Y. Renouard, *Les relations des Papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et banciares de* 1316 *à* 1378 (Paris 1941) pp. 198 ff.

[18] The clergy made loans to Walter of Brienne in 1342 and to the short-lived *magnati-popolani* regime that succeeded the dictatorship. Cf. *Camera del Comune*, 1 *bis*, f. 297r; *ibid.*, 2, f. 4r; *Dupl. Provv.*, 4, f. 1.

[19] G. Villani, *Cronica*, XII, 43; *Cronica fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani*, ed. N. Rodolico, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., XXX, part I (Città di Castello 1930-1955) rub. 616.

It is within the context of these events that the economic implications of the conflict between church and state can be approached. The challenge that was issued by the *Signoria* against the traditional Christian economic ethic is clearly reflected in the changing character of communal legislation on the subject of usury. Until the period under consideration, there had been no fundamental attack upon the right of church courts to deal with cases involving the charge of usury. Both Giovanni Villani and an anonymous chronicler, agree that one of the principal motives behind the passage of legislation in 1345-46, seeking to limit the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical tribunals, was the desire of communal authorities to prevent the church from nullifying usurious contracts. Prior to the passage of this legislation, cases involving charges of usury had been tried in ecclesiastical courts and the lay tribunals had accepted the verdicts of their clerical counterparts without reservation.[20] After its enactment, however, the popular regime assumed sole responsibility for the disposition of these cases. In effect, this meant that prosecution of alleged usurers ceased, since cases of this nature appear always to have been outside of the purview of the communal magistracies.[21] It would seem that the crisis in Florentine papal relations provided the *Signoria* with an excellent opportunity to take action on this delicate subject.

During this "democratic interval" the *Signoria* struck also at the authority of the Papal Inquisitor. Giovanni Villani, a virulent opponent of these laws that were aimed to destroy ecclesiastical liberty, and himself a good Guelph, condemned the Inquisitor for exacting fines from alleged usurers and men who were accused of having justified this nefarious practice. These fines were levied according to the wealth of the individual, rather than in accord with the principles of Christian justice.[22] Before the establishment of the popular government in 1343, close cooperation had existed between the *popolani grassi*, who ruled the state, and the office of the Inquisitor. The *Signoria* aided the Inquisitor in apprehending heretics and placed the communal prison at the disposal of this official of the Holy See.[23] Among those who were indicted on this charge were individuals accused of the practice of usury.[24] After the year 1343, this close collaboration between the inquisitorial arm of the church and secular authorities was terminated. Legislation nominating communal sindics for the purpose of aiding the Inquisitor was no longer enacted.[25] As a result, a further deterrent to the practice of usury was removed. Prior to this development the composition of the pawnbroker class was characterized by its low socio-economic status; for the balance of the century, however, these "manifest usurers" were drawn from the ranks of many of the best Florentine families.[26]

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[20] Cf. G. Villani, *Cronica*, XII, 58; *Biblioteca Marucelliana*, Firenze, Mss. C II, c. 295 (This latter source is quoted by N. Rodolico in *I Ciompi* (Florence 1945) p. 42).

Prior to April of 1345, victims of contracts, that were alleged to be usurious, appealed to the court of the Bishop. The last appeal of this type was made three months before the passage of the law that curtailed ecclesiastical jurisdiction. (*Camera del Comune*, 10, f. 85) For the balance of the tenure of the popular government further actions of this sort were not initiated.

It would appear that an enactment, which penalized those who had suffered at the hands of clandestine usurers and loan-sharks, cannot be interpreted as being favorable to the interests of the masses; nor can its passage be attributed to their inordinate political influence over the regime. It is of interest to note that Pepo Frescobaldi, a noble, was one of two speakers who counseled the adoption of this law, Cf. *Dupl. Provv.*, 5, f. 54 (2 April 1345).

[21] With the establishment of oligarchical government in 1348, the *Signoria* acknowledged that the church had jurisdiction over cases involving a charge of usury. Cf. M. Becker, 'Three cases concerning the restitution of usury in Florence,' the *Journal of Economic History* (September 1957) p. 449.

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[22] G. Villani, *loc. cit.* "condannava in grossa somma di danari, secondo che l'uomo era ricco." Added credence can be given to the chronicler's observation as a result of the action taken by the Inquisitor's successor. Michele di Lapo Arnolfi issued a "Revocatio Sententia Fr. Petro de Aquila." Cf. *Biblioteca Marucelliana, Firenze,* Mss., B. I. 14, cc. 205-6 (27 March 1350).

[23] As an example of early legislation in which the commune appointed "sindicati capiendum bonorum patarernorum et hereticorum," see *Provv.*, 1, fols. 35^r-36 (4 January 1287). Cf. also *Provv.*, 26, f. 8^r; *Lib. Fab.*, 16, I, f. 102; *Camera del Comune*, 1 bis, f. 68.

[24] Available evidence suggests that the number of convictions on this count declined appreciably during the second half of the *Trecento*. The notarial archives indicate that there was also a decline in the practice of restitution of usury. Compare the token payments designated for this purpose by members of the Medici family, in the second half of the *Trecento*, with those of the Strozzi in the earlier period. Cf. G. Brucker, 'The Medici in the fourteenth century,' *Speculum* XXXII (1957) pp. 11-2; P. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 189; *Diplomatico*, S. Maria Novella (12 July 1345).

Examples of restitution cited by Sapori, occurred, for the most part, prior to the advent of the second half of the *Trecento*. Cf. *Compagnie e mercanti di Firenze antica* (Florence, 1955), pp. xcvi ff. For a consideration of the problem of restitution, see B. Nelson, 'The Usurer and the Merchant Prince: Italian Business and the Ecclesiastical Law of Restitution, 1100-1550,' *The Tasks of Economic History* (supplemental issue of the *Journal of Economic History*) VII (1947) 104-22.

[25] On January 27, 1344 the Council of the Captain rejected a provision entitled, "primo super provvisione sindicorum pro facto inquisitoris." Cf. *Lib. Fab.*, 24, f. 25r. On February 14, of the same year, a similar fate befell a petition that had been presented by the Inquisitor. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 29. Prior to the period under consideration, the passage of these measures had been a regular feature of communal political life. Cf. *Provv.*, 28, f. 8^r (24 May 1331); *Lib. Fab.*, 16, I, f. 102 (6 October 1334); *ibid.*, 16, II, 80^r (17 November 1335); *ibid.*, 17, f. 75; *Camera del Comune*, 1 *bis*, f. 68 (22 December 1342). For a survey of the activities of the Inquisitor from 1322-29, see R. Davidsohn, 'Un libro di inquisitore fiorentino,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* XXVII (1901) pp. 346-55.

[26] Of the fifty *feneratores ad pignus*, who plied their trade within the confines of the city of Florence in 1342, not a single one was a member of a patrician family. Cf. M. Becker, 'Gualtieri di Brienne e la regolamentazione dell' usura a Firenze,' *Archivio Storico Italiano*

It would appear that this change in governmental policy played a significant role in weakening the effective force behind the traditional Christian ethic. When the impact of the authority of the church was lessened in this important area of economic behavior, "clandestine usury" could be abandoned in favor of "manifest usury," since there was now less reason for the individual to fear ecclesiastical reprisals.

In 1346, immediately following the enactment of legislation against ecclesiastical liberties, communal authorities granted licenses to pawnbrokers for a fee in the form of a fine.[27] This practice was in accord with customary procedure which required that these "manifest usurers" make regular payments into the communal treasury as a punishment for plying their reprehensible trade. The language of these provisions had been replete with Christian sentiment. The malefactors were reminded that they had sinned thrice: against the Lord, their fellow men, and themselves. Not only had they violated Divine Law but, also, its mundane counterpart. They were admonished that in the future they should give without regard for monetary remuneration.[28] These pious sentiments cannot be dismissed as mere rhetoric unless this word is seen within the context of the historical milieu. The fact that the *Signoria* was willing to make concessions to Christian economic doctrine, even at the linguistic level, suggests that the rulers of Florence were not unmindful of their ties to their religious heritage. Sapori, the great modern economic historian, has shown the implicit ambivalence inherent in the character of the Florentines of this era and the attendant tensions that were being generated as a result of the conflict between Christian traditions and acquisitive tendencies.[29] Now, in 1346, for the first time, the attitude demonstrated by the *Signoria* in their

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CXIV (1956) p. 736. By 1354, however, members of the Bardi, Donati, Cambi, Arcangeli and Gherardini families were inscribed among the ranks of the licensed pawnbrokers. Cf. A. Doren, *Das florentiner zunftwesen vom XIV. bis zum XVI. jahrhundert* (Stuttgart and Berlin 1908) pp. 789-90.

[27] Actions of this order were commonplace in Europe at this time. Cf. R. de Roover, *Money, banking and credit in mediaeval Bruges* (Cambridge, Mass. 1948) p. 163; T. P. Mc Laughlin, 'The teachings of the canonists on usury, XII, XIII, and XIV centuries,' *Medieval Studies* I (1939) pp. 81-47, II (1940) pp. 1-22.

[28] For an example of this exhortation, see C. Paoli, *Della Signoria di Gualtieri Duca d'Atene* (Florence 1862) p. 30.

[29] See R. Lopez's discussion of Sapori's treatment of this problem in the review entitled, 'Italian leadership in the medieval business world,' the *Journal of Economic History* VIII (1948) pp. 63-8.

It is of interest to note that at the beginning of the *Trecento*, members of the patrician Strozzi family loaned money on pledges; they were not, however, licensed pawnbrokers who practiced their metier openly. By the second half of the century they had abandoned this clandestine form of activity in favor of open "manifest" usury. Cf. *Archivio Notarile*, R 159, f. 72; *Provv.*, 68, f. 37r. For a discussion of the attitude of the church towards "manifest" usurers, see B. Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

legislation concerning pawnbrokers lacked this characteristic quality. Freed from the traditional authority of the ecclesiastical tribunals, the supreme executive stated that "fear of God" was not a sufficient deterrent to those who were "manifest usurers."[30] Shortly thereafter, it was decreed that money collected from these usurious pawnbrokers was to be used to finance an ambassador to the Pope in Avignon.[31] This ironical situation was further heightened by an attempt of the *Signoria* to initiate legislation favoring the pawnbrokers.[32] Since the councils rejected this proposal, it is impossible to know in precisely what manner the regime sought to extend its benevolence to this despicable class. The *novi cives* and their fellow office-holders had inaugurated policies towards the pawnbrokers that must have disturbed certain members of the patriciate. After the overthrow of the popular regime (1348), when the old families re-established their political hegemony over the state, they not only incorporated traditional Christian language into the *Provvisioni* which licensed pawnbrokers, but they also recognized theoretically, at least, the authority of the church courts. Periodically from 1348 to 1375, when war broke out between Florence and the Holy See, patrician *Signorie* were more mindful of the claims of the church in this matter. During this interval, when they issued licenses to pawnbrokers, they frequently stated that by this act they were in no way seeking to detract from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

One of the principal innovations of *il governo popolare* was the founding of the *Monte*. Between the years 1343 and 1345, the *Signoria* effectuated a consolidation of the public debt. Communal credits were declared unredeemable, however, the creditors were to receive interest and they were conceded the right to sell their shares.[33] Vigorous exception was taken to these enactments by certain segments of the clergy on the grounds that this action constituted a violation of canon law on the subject of usury.[34] The government, at this time, did not have the resources to repay its principal creditors since it found itself on the verge of bankruptcy. By the establishment of the *Monte*, the communal treasury was able to free itself from the obligation of repaying over a half million florins of principal by simply guaranteeing the creditors five per cent interest each year. This government, unlike its more aristocratic predecessor, did not take the precaution of making special provision for the spiritual welfare of those to whom it paid interest. Prior to 1343 the commune had appointed officials for the specific purpose of granting remission of the charge of usury to those who had accepted the interest on government loans.[35] This type of pardon, or remission, was not uncommon in borderline cases that involved the twilight zone between legitimate profit and usury. In the past, when the government had borrowed money, it had taken cognizance of the existence of this delicate problem. Now with the founding of the *Monte* — a radical step taken in the face of strong ecclesiastical opposition — the *Signoria* ignored the traditional remedy.

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[30] *Provv.*, 33, f. 88.

[31] *Provv.*, 34, f. 91.

[32] *Lib. Fab.*, 26, f. 30r; 27, f. 18r (17 February 1346). Compare these enactments, prior to the Black Death,(with those that were passed after its advent. Cf. *Provv.*, 35, f. 11 (28 July 1357); 45, f. 147 (12 March 1358); 55, 108 (23 December 1367).

[33] For an extensive consideration of the formation of the *Monte*, see M. Barbadoro, *Le finanze della repubblica fiorentina* (Florence 1929) pp. 629-64.

[34] For a discussion of this problem, see R. de Roover, 'Il trattato di fra Santi Rucellai sul cambio, il monte comune e il monte delle doti,' *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXI (1953) pp. 3-34; M. Villani, *Cronica* III, 106; W. Endemann, *Studien in der romanisch-kanonistischen Witschafts- und Rechtslehre* (Berlin, 1874), vol. I, pp. 431 ff.

This lack of concern for the dictates of customary economic morality was also reflected in other facets of governmental activity at this time. The minor guildsmen, many of whom were distributors and producers for the domestic market, were intent upon nullifying communal legislation on the subject of "just price."[36] These members of the *arti minori*, well represented in the government during this interval, were able to exert their political influence and to block the enforcement of existing statutes prohibiting monopolistic practices and other violations of the regulations pertaining to "just price." In the past these *minori* had been adversely affected by the interpretations which the *Signorie* had placed upon the teachings of the medieval scholastics and canonists concerning this subject.[37] Communal courts had enforced these laws against violators who were matriculated in the minor guilds while adopting a laissez-faire policy towards the greater guildsmen. Between 1343 and 1348 the enforcement of this type of enactment was suspended.[38] Minor guildsmen were able to fix prices for goods and services without fear of reprisal from communal authorities. This innovation, without precedent in the history of the Republic, represented another departure from economic policies that were sanctioned by Christian doctrine.[39] This policy was reversed immediately after the oligarchs regained undisputed hegemony over the state and, once again, the economic activities of the minor guildsmen were regulated by legislation that was influenced by the concept of "just price."[40]

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[35] Cf. *Lib. Fab.*, 19, f. 157 (10 Marsch 1341). The following year the dictatorship of Walter of Brienne was established and this practice was discontinued. It was not revived until the year 1357. Cf. *Provv.*, 45, f. 11^{r}.

[36] During the tenure of Brienne, when the *minori* had political influence, statutes regulating prices were not enforced.

[37] Among those condemned to pay a fine of twenty-five *lire* were members of the most important *minori* families: Falchi, Dolcibeni, Fantini and Lori. Cf. *Camera del Comune*, 1, fols. 1-3 (1 July 1334).

[38] The communal courts, without exception, dismissed all accusations on this count. Cf. *Atti Esecutore*, 6, fols 5 ff.; 17, fols. 25 ff.; 79, fols. 11 r ff.

[39] Coupled with the failure of the Popular *Signoria* to enforce statutes regulating prices was their lax administration of the sumptuary laws. The next regime took strong measures to remedy this laxity. Cf. *Atti Esecutore*, 211 (9 August - 27 December 1349). This volume contains "inquisitiones contra artifices contrafacientes ordinamentis comunis Florentie."

An analysis of the actions of the *Signoria* between the years 1343 and 1348 indicates that the hypothesis which seeks to explain the enactment of legislation against the church in terms of a pervasive anticlericalism is, in fact, an oversimplification.[41] The popular government in Florence during this interval was composed of a complex of interests. Wealthy bankers, affluent merchants and great industrialists benefited from the limitations placed upon the authority of ecclesiastical tribunals and were able to preserve at least part of their patrimonies by temporarily avoiding the payment of the claims of their clerical creditors. This precious time was a factor in permitting certain of the *popolani grassi* to survive the financial crisis that gripped the city of Florence during these troubled years.[42] When this critical situation had passed and these *popolani* were no longer dependent upon the protection afforded them by the popular government, their loyalties shifted and a *rapprochement* was effected with the Holy See. The *novi cives* and the *minori*, on the other hand, with their commitment to a more impersonal type of government were to continue to press for the extension of the authority of the State at the expense of the jurisdiction, immunities and privileges of the Church. As has been mentioned previously, this group of men was just as vitally interested in limiting or restricting the prerogatives of other classes or individuals whose power might possibly impinge upon the sovereignty of the State. That the church was not the exclusive target for this type of legislation, implies that there were general considerations involved which transcended feelings of anticlericalism. This pattern is further indicated by a particular measure that was proposed by the *Signoria* at the moment when the *minori* and *novi cives* had their greatest representation in the government. This was immediately approved by the councils in 1344 and enacted into a law that established severe penalties against those citizens who had occupied any land or property that was owned by the church.[43] In the past, powerful patricians had unlawfully seized these valuable sources of revenue to the grave detriment of the church.[44] In taking this action, the popular *Signoria*, like its predecessor (1293-95), exhibited not an anticlerical bias but, rather, a concern for the enforcement of what Nicola Ottokar, the Florentine historian, has termed "le norme comuni della vita," as opposed to appeals to force, violence and extra-legal authority on the part of the "potentes."[45] This emphasis upon communal law was favorable to the church in this particular instance, however, when "il principio statale" was extended to other areas of civic life, secular authorities were in a position to appropriate to themselves prerogatives that had, hitherto, belonged to the church. The *Signoria* gave ample proof of the existence of this tendency when it assumed exclusive jurisdiction over cases involving a charge of usury.

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[40] *Balie*, 5 (20 October 1349).

[41] See footnote number five.

[42] The Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli families not only survived their respective bankruptcies, but they also retained political influence. Cf. *Consulte et Pratiche*, 1 (1349-54).

[43] *Provv.*, 33, f. 18r.

[44] R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1927), vol. VI, part 3, pp. 3 ff.

The years that followed the Black Death were marked by an oligarchical reaction that was to lead to the amelioration of relations between the *Signoria* and the church. The personnel of the new government tended to be more representative of the urban patriciate. Fewer *novi cives* and minor guildsmen sat in the communal councils during the tenure of this regime.[46] One would, therefore, expect that the trend towards impersonal government was in the process of being reversed. If the criteria of the communal attitudes concerning the time-honored privileges and immunities of the church and the nobility are utilized, then it might be fair to suggest that this government was more mindful of the ancient "liberties" of these classes than was the preceding regime.[47] This type of *Signoria* was, on the whole, more pragmatic and empirical in its approach to these problems than their more inflexible predecessors. It was willing to concede, for example, that the church had jurisdiction over cases involving a charge of usury and to acknowledge that the traditional teachings of the church on economic matters could not be flouted with impunity.[48] In fact, it had little interest in antagonizing the church on matters that were of slight practical value. It would appear that the urban patriciate preferred, instead, to exert its energies in the direction of advancing the careers of relatives and friends who had selected the church as a calling. The city of Florence was also anxious to place her native sons in important ecclesiastical offices throughout Europe, for this was a mode of acquiring influence in foreign territories.[49] The economic prosperity of many other Florentine families was, likewise, dependent upon cordial relationships with the Holy See. Shortly after the downfall of the popular government, Avignon resumed its close financial relationships with the great Florentine companies.[50] The interdict that had been placed upon the city as a result of the conflict between the Florentine bankers and their ecclesiastical creditors was removed and the claims of the latter were ultimately satisfied.[51] The *Signoria* petitioned the Pope to remove the unpopular inquisitor and to appoint a native Florentine in his stead. Clement VI accepted this recommendation and the patrician, Michele di Lapo Arnolfi, assumed this vital office. Both the papacy and the leaders of the oligarchy were in agreement that there was a mutual need for close cooperation. The Pontiff could not expect to reconquer the Papal States without the aid of the Florentines, while the City of the Baptist could not hope to survive the onslaughts of the Visconti without the active support of the Holy See. The *Signoria* was, therefore, willing to make important concessions in order to sustain this symbiotic relationship. Unlike its predecessor, this government was highly personal in its political orientation and recognized not only the traditional liberties of the church but also certain of the time-honored prerogatives of other classes such as the nobility.[52] This was a regime in which the private petitions of status-worthy individuals and groups played an important role and grants of judicial dispensation by the *Signoria* from verdicts of the courts were not infrequent.[53]

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[45] *Studi Comunali e Fiorentini* (Florence 1948) p. 86. Cf. also his *Il comune di Firenze alla fine del dugento* (Florence 1926) p. 278. For examples of legislation of this type passed from 1343 to 1348, see *Provv.*, 32, fols. 163ʳ, 171ʳ; *Dupl. Provv.*, 6, fols. 29, 43.

[46] G. Brucker and M. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 97; D. Marzi, *La cancelleria della Repubblica fiorentina* (Rocca S. Casciano 1910) pp. 557-65.

[47] In 1349, for the first time since the decade of the 1330's, petitions of the Apostolic Legate and other members of the higher clergy were accepted with regularity and with little opposition on the part of the communal councils. Cf. *Provv.*, 36, fols. 70, 74-74ʳ, 99ʳ. All ordinances and statutes that were "against ecclesiastical liberty and the Catholic faith" were suspended. Cf. *Provv.*, 45, fols. 11, 35ʳ, 95ʳ. Requests for dispensation from adverse judicial verdicts were granted to members of certain of the noble families, such as the Adimari, Bondelmonti, Ricasoli, Boscholi, Pazzi, Bordoni, etc., in 1348-49. Cf. *Provv.*, vols. 36-42; *Camera del Comune*, 33-4.

[48] *Atti del Podesta*, 1525, unnumbered folio. Not infrequently, the compliance of the urban patriciate was confined to the realm of theory rather than that of practice. Cf. M. Becker, 'Nota dei processi riguardanti prestatori di danaro nei tribunali fiorentini dal 1343 al 1379,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXIV (1956) p. 746.

While there were minor disagreements between church and state during this interval of oligarchical hegemony (1348-75) which revolved around such issues as the right of the commune to tax the clergy or exercise its jurisdiction over them, there was no fundamental challenge to the authority of the church where its economic teachings were concerned. With the outbreak of the War of the Eight Saints against the Holy See in 1375, the *Signoria* defied customary religious precept with a zeal that can be viewed as immoderate.[54] Once again the regime had been democratized and attacks were resumed against traditional immunities and practices. To demonstrate the extent of the break with these precepts, it might be well to consider communal policy on the important question of usury. Immediately upon the outbreak of war, the councils of the Republic enacted legislation that authorized the officials of the *Monte* to act as executors of the wills of all "manifest usurers."[55] By taking this action the government displaced the clerics who had formerly served in this capacity. The *Signoria* justified this radical step on the grounds that it was seeking to protect the citizenry from possible injustice. It also seized this opportunity to press for the passage of legislation that would remove certain communal sanctions against usury.[56] The regime succeeded in passing a provision in the same vein that was calculated to curtail ecclesiastical jurisdiction over violations of this type.[57] These measures, as well as others, were initiated by the government in direct opposition to the Bishop's Constitution.[58] The licensing of Jewish pawnbrokers in the territories under Florentine jurisdiction was a particular case in point.[59]

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[49] The letters of the Florentine Chancellor supporting the claims of native sons for preferment in their ecclesiastical careers, were a commonplace throughout the history of the City of the Baptist. According to the testimony of the chronicler Stefani, the political behavior of the Ricci and Albizzi, leaders of the two factions that vied for power throughout this period, was motivated by a desire to advance the status of their clerical kinsmen. Cf. *Cronica*, rub. 726, 720.

[50] Y. Renouard, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff.

[51] A. Panella, *op. cit.*, pp. 292 ff.

[52] This deferential attitude towards the privileges and immunities of the nobles and clergy was not shared by all of the members of the urban patriciate. Consequently, there was disagreement within the ranks of the *popolani grassi* on such practical questions as secular jurisdiction over the clergy and the enforcement of the statutes against *magnati*. Unlike its predecessor, however, the various *Signorie* that governed in Florence from 1348 to the decade of the 1370's, did not seek to extend the supremacy of communal law over these classes but, rather, followed a pragmatic policy and the situation was constantly in flux. Cf. *Consulte et Pratiche*, 1, f. 6; 2, fols. 80^r, 99.

[53] One of the characteristics of popular government is the decline of personal influence as evidenced by the absence of special requests from affluent citizens. The *provvisioni* indicate that this practice increased almost a hundred fold during eras of oligarchical hegemony. Cf. especially, *Provv.*, vols. 36-42; *Camera del Comune*, vols. 33-4.

The War of the Eight Saints (1375-78), was directed by a regime that was very similar, in the composition of its personnel, to the one that governed

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[54] Almost immediately after the advent of hostilities, the government severely limited the jurisdiction of clerical tribunals. Cf. *Provv.*, 63, f. 73; *Lib. Fab.*, f. 150 (12 July 1375). For other manifestations of communal policy that were detrimental to the interests of the church at this time, see M. Becker, 'Florentine Politics and the Diffusion of Heresy in the *Trecento:* A Socio-Economic Inquiry,' in *Speculum.* XXXIV (1959) 60-75.

[55] Cf. M. Becker, 'Three Cases Concerning the Restitution of Usury in Florence,' *op. cit.*, p. 447. The *Signoria* compelled the heirs of "manifest" usurers to make payment of *incertis* to the communal treasury. The war with the Holy See provided the Republic with the opportunity to assume the role that had traditionally belonged to the church. Cf. *Camera del Comune,* 173, f. 2 (1 July 1376).

[56] The general effect of these enactments was to make interest recoverable at law. There was, therefore, no need to resort to the subtrafuges of an earlier era. Cf. *Provv.*, 63, f. 85 (8 August 1375). For a description of these practices, see R. de Roover, *The Medici Bank* (New York 1948) p. 57.

[57] The authority of the church courts was curtailed; any citizen who claimed that he had suffered an injustice at the hands of these tribunals was permitted to appeal to the *Signoria.* Cf. *Provv.*, 63, f. 73; *Lib. Fab.*, 40, f. 150.

[58] *I Capitoli del Comune di Firenze*, ed. C. Guasti (Florence 1893) vol. 2, pp. 39 *ff.*

[59] This important violation of the constitution of the Bishop of Florence occurred in 1375 — not at the end of the century, as modern scholars contend. Cf. *Camera del Comune,* 168, unnumbered folio (31 October 1375); U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'eta del Rinascimento* (Florence 1918) p. 15.

Florence from 1343 to 1348. This coalition of *novi cives*, *minori* and patricians, like its predecessor, displayed an enthusiasm for legislating upon economic matters that formerly tended to be under the purview of the church. Their unanimity of action in this area was encouraged by a pervasive suspicion toward the foreign policy that had been pursued by the Holy See since the beginning of the decade.[60] With the signing of a peace treaty between Florence and the papacy and the oligarchical reaction of 1382 which displaced many of the *minori* and *novi cives* from the *Signoria*, certain of the rights and privileges of the church were again restored. It would appear that the necessary ingredients for an assault against these traditional claims were the influx cf newcomers and minor guildsmen into the government and significant shifts in Florentine papal relations that threatened the interests of certain members of the patriciate and encouraged them to make common cause with their socio-economic inferiors.

With the resumption of oligarchical hegemony in 1382, the *Signoria* displayed its disapproval of the policies of the popular government in matters pertaining to usury by placing severe restrictions upon the activities of pawnbrokers in the Florentine *contado*.[61] It also reversed the stand of its predecessor on the subject of the authority of the Inquisitor when, for the first time since the decade of the 1340's, it lent this office the active support of the secular arm.

This investigation of the relationship between church and state in Florence during the *Trecento* indicates that internal political developments, as well as changes in the area of foreign policy, had a definite influence upon the position that the *Signoria* assumed in reference to important economic questions. At moments when the patriciate and the newcomers to the arena of Florentine politics joined forces, there was a strong tendency to exalt the legal authority of the state; the by-product of this trend in communal affairs was to undermine the influence of the church in economic matters.[62] This attack upon the traditional prerogatives of the church was to have a profound effect upon future regimes. Oligarchical *Signorie* were frequently unable (or unwilling) to reverse the strong currents that had been set into motion by their predecessors.[63]

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[60] Cf. G. Brucker, 'Un documento fiorentino sulla guerra. sulla finanza e sulla amministrazione pubblica (1375),' *Archivio Storico Italiano* II (1957) pp. 165-76.

[61] Cf. *Provv.*, 83, fols. 226^r-227^r; *Consulte et Pratiche*, 27, f. 37^r; *Lib. Fab.*, 48, f. 127. These measures appear to have remained in the realm of theory rather than that of practice since there is no evidence to indicate that they were enforced.

[62] For examples of a similar tendency prior to 1343-48, see *Provv.*, 3, f. 143 (22 October 1293); *Provv. Protocoli*, 6, fols. 252-3 (8 December 1328).

[63] This was especially evident in instances where the communal treasury was augmented by the actions of popular regimes. The law of 1375, which authorized the *Monte* officials to act as executors of the "last will and testament of manifest usurers or pawnbrokers who lend money in the city or *contado* of Florence," was not repealed by the subsequent *Signoria*.

In many other instances, the compliance of oligarchical regimes to Christian economic norms became a matter of form rather than of substance.[64] The antithesis between the superficial acquiescence of certain of the oligarchs and the forthright denial of those men who advocated the supremacy of the state in these matters, tended to cloud and to blur the issues involved. It is within this historical context that the ecnoomic ideology of the subsequent century is born and nurtured.[65]

It should also be noted that revenue from this source was utilized to repay affluent communal creditors. Since the oligarchs who ruled at this time were among the principal creditors, such a policy was in their immediate self-interest. Cf. M. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 447; *Provv.*, 86, f. 248 (31 October 1397). This was also true in the matter of making restitution of those church lands that were confiscated in 1377-8. They fell into the hands of the great families who were averse to the idea of making restitution. Cf. *Camera del Comune*, vols. 182-3.

[64] Although the oligarchical regime, that assumed power in 1382, condemned usurious practices in theory, for the first time in communal history, during the decade of the 1390's "manifest" usurers were permitted to act as "fideiussori" for government officials. Cf. *Provv.*, 79, f. 212^r; 80, f. 38.

[65] It is in this milieu that Lorenzo de Ridolfi wrote his famous 'Tractatus de Usuris., (*Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, *Magliabechiano*, II, III, 366, February 14, 1404). It is interesting to note that one of Ridolfi's relatives, a certain Niccolo, was absolved by the Court of the Bishop on a charge of exacting usury. The Communal Councils, however accepted a petition from the alleged victim of Niccolo's usurious practices, and freed him from any condemnation that the Secular Courts might exact for non-payment of debt. It would appear, therefore, that despite Niccolo's acquital at the hands of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, the subsequent action of the Florentine Councils raised a serious doubt concerning his innocence. (*Provv.*, 85, f. 286 (12 December 1396). It may well have been the difficulties involved in rendering decisions in such cases that prompted Ridolfi to investigate these complex matters. For the possible influence of the exigencies of communal finance upon the economic thought of Ridolfi, see A. Panella, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 ff.; K. T. Noonan Jr., *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957) pp. 68-9, 125-6.

"After His Ymage"
The Central Ironies of the "Friar's Tale"

EARLE BIRNEY

SO unappreciated is the *Friar's Tale* that popular works on Chaucer still dismiss it, along with its companion *Summoner's Tale*, as a "particularly coarse" affair,[1] or "tedious as those horse-play medieval stories usually are."[2] Even critics who have actually considered the work, and know that there is not a bawdy line in it, have been weak witnesses to the fact that there is not a tedious line either. Interpretation has dwelt too largely on the undoubtedly fascinating relations of the tale to the Canterbury framework and to the warfare of the summoners and friars, to the neglect of the story itself.[3] Yet the *conte*, considered quite apart from its frame, is one of Chaucer's most carefully worked and closely unified poems, and, in its sardonic development of the ironies latent in a Faustian situation, one of his most dramatic. Above all, in its unusual withholding of the denouement,[4] and in the subtlety of its moral implications, it is one of his most original compositions.

The tale idea as it came to Chaucer's ears — we have no source and no close analogues, and the weight of critical opinion is on the side of oral transmission to him[5] — was probably less like a *fabliau* than like one of those *facetiae* of Poggio, in the next century, short humorous anecdotes in which, to quote Edmund Storer, who has investigated the tradition apart from Chaucer, "the matter is ninety per cent."[6] A professional type — in one fourteenth-century telling he was a farmer,[7] in others a seneschal or a lawyer, but never a summoner — enters by chance into companionship with a devil who is roaming about to pick up whatever is consigned to him. The human rascal urges the devil to seize various objects or people apparently wished upon him by speakers in anger, but the devil refuses to accept anything not given him from the heart. Eventually they meet a professional victim of the human rascal who curses him to hell, and the devil carries him off. Embedded in the situation is ancient folk belief in the efficacy of curses uttered with intention.[8]

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[1] Norman Brett-James, *Introducing Chaucer* (London: Harrap 1949) 98. Even H. S. Bennett refers to it as a "lewd tale "though "the brilliance of the telling makes us condone the coarse nature..." etc.; *Chaucer and the fifteenth century* (OUP 1947) 73.

[2] H. D. Sedgwick, *Dan Chaucer* (N. Y.: Bobbs-Merrill 1934) 293. Cp. the condescending attitude of Raymond Preston to both tales in his *Chaucer* (London: Sheed & Ward 1952) 246: "The tellers have little or nothing to say." Cp. also G. K. Anderson, *Old and Middle English literature* (OUP 1950) 159, who dismisses the *Friar's Tale* as a weak fabliau; & Edward Hutton, *The Franciscans in England* (London: Constable 1926) 192.

[3] Even Germaine Dempster's usually valuable *Dramatic irony in Chaucer* (Stanford UP 1932), treats the tale from the assumption, which will not bear analysis, that "a rather un-Chaucerian" anxiety to fit the tale to the framework has involved "a sacrifice of realism to the requirements of satire" (42). More appreciative, though sketchy, is R. K. Root's commentary in his *Poetry of Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, rev. ed. 1934) 245-9. The most satisfying analysis of the ironies within and around the tale became accessible only after the present article was committed for publication; v. A. C. Cawley, 'Chaucer's Summoner, the Friar's Summoner and the Friar's Tale,' *Proc. Leeds Philosophical & Literary Society*, Lit. & Hist. Sec., VIII (1957) 173-80.

[4] Noted by B. H. Bronson as a rare departure from Chaucer's normal practise of sacrificing suspense to make clear his aim, in oral delivery; 'Chaucer's art in relation to his audience', *Five studies in literature*, U. of Calif. Pubs. in English VIII (1940) 11 n7. Bronson says that W. M. Hart called this peculiarity of the *Friar's Tale* to his attention, but neither critic seems to have pursued the point.

Chaucer, in elaborating this *facelia*, transforms it into a *novellino*, into a story where characterization and, even more, style — a pervasive duality of phrasing, an irony of attitude — achieve dominance without in any way reducing, but on the contrary extending, the grim comedies of the plot. And these comedies take on a curious complexity, half medieval, half Aristophanic, a playing of Alazon against Eiron in a series of scenes which, unobtrusively but harmoniously, build toward an orthodox Christian moral. To the primitive theme which Chaucer inherited, the rough justice of professional avarice rebuked and punished by a devil in disguise, is added poetic justice, the spectacle of a great but over-proud human hunter of sinners brought to bay unawares by a diabolic hunter whom he had sought to deceive and then to out-rival. The irony is deepened by the interweaving of a third theme: the human villain swears brotherhood with the satanic one to increase his own takings, only to create the conditions by which his own soul is taken. And the failure of his attempt to out-do, by masquerade and by imitation, the devil himself leads us directly to the moral of the tale which, as we shall see, is not primarily concerned with summoners or friars or even, as Coghill would have it, with the "importance of Intention" in oaths,[9] but with masks and "ymages".

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[5] See R. D. French, *A Chaucer handbook*, 2nd. ed. (N. Y.: Crofts 1947) 287; and Archer Taylor, 'The Friar's Tale,' *Sources and analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan & G. Dempster (U. of Chicago 1941) 269-74. See also F. N. Robinson's headnote to the tale in the 2nd ed. of his *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin 1957). Textual references in this article are to this edition.

[6] Introd. to *Facetiae of Poggio* (London: Routledge 1928) 4. See also Archer Taylor, 'The devil and the advocate,' *PMLA* XXXVI (1921) 35-59; Dempster, *op. cit.*, 44n; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of folk literature*, rev. ed. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde 1955-58) IV, 249-50; V, 40-1.

[7] Archer Taylor prints this version, *loc. cit.*, 38-9.

[8] "O karissime, ista maledictio et donacio non procedit ex corde et ideo non possum eam tollere", says Demon to Rusticus in Taylor's *exemplum*, *ibid.*

From the opening, Chaucer keeps his complex structure of ironies in mind. The first nineteen lines, usually interpreted either as "digression" in the interests of framework portraiture,[10] or as somewhat irrelevant topical satire, a portrait of a particular archdeacon over-zealous in haling into his court offenders against ecclesiastical law, have subtle thematic purpose. This archdeacon is most implacable with "lecchours" (1310) and with "smale tytheres" (1312), and the most successful limb of his law, reaching out infallibly to sinners, is the summoner of our tale. Yet it is precisely the smallest tither in all Chaucer, the widow Mabely, who, falsely accused of lechery by this specialist in its detection, becomes the instrument of his downfall by indignantly consigning him to the devil.

After the archdeacon's portrait, the tale passes into a deliberate build-up of this Alazon-Summoner, this Greek comedy boaster, that he may have the highest possible fall. The archdeacon-inquisitor, the master, may be locally great; but his servant, the summoner, is of national stature: "A slyer boye nas noon in Engelond;/ For subtilly he hadde his espiaille..." (1322-3). He is a great criminal investigator who works through undercover agents and informers; by extending protection to "lecchours oon or two" he learns how to get his hands on "foure and twenty mo" (1325-6). By such and other means he becomes a walking repository of secrets. The text carefully emphasizes this; the summoner had contact not only with ordinary bawds who "tolde hym al the secree that they knewe" (1341), but also he had "wenches at his retenue,/That, wheither that sir Robert or sir Huwe,/ Or Jakke, or Rauf, or whoso that it were/That lay by hem, they tolde it in his ere" (1355-8).[11] His confidence, then, is based not only on his master's might and his own successes in spotting the guilty; he moves assured because he thinks he knows, in respect to local sexual scandals, everything. He has the disillusioned sophistication of a hardened vice-squad detective who assumes that everybody has something to hide. And it is precisely this self-confidence which will betray him into accusing a respectable widow of adultery, and getting his "comeuppance" from her. Notice that he has presumably picked her before he met the devil, as part of the day's business, as someone he might be able to scare into a bribe with a false accusation. She is an untested victim, and once he becomes aware that he is in competition with nothing less than a fiend from hell, he might well have left her for another day. But he believes in his own infallibility, in that detective instinct which the tale is careful to endow him with at the start: "For in this world nys dogge for the bowe/That kan an hurt deer from an hool yknowe/Bet than this somour knew a sly lecchour, /Or an avowtier, or a paramour" (1369-72).

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[9] Nevill Coghill, *The poet Chaucer* (London: Cumberlege 1949) 162.

[10] *E. g.*, A. C. Baugh, 'The original teller of the Merchant's tale', *MP* XXXV (1937) 24.

[11] Priests are presumably referred to in line 1356, excellent sources of information if one accepts the tale-teller's bias. See Robinson's note, 705, & B. L. Manning, *The people's faith in the time of Wyclif* (CUP 1919) 35.

If the story were only this, it would not of course be much more sophisticated than the original anecdote in its ironic effects. A zealous law-enforcement officer, out of over-confidence and exhibitionism, accuses an innocent person and is in consequence carried off to everlasting hell. What is wrong is that the punishment vastly exceeds the crime, even for such an unpopular professional, in an age when Hell was as real as it was terrible and there was no doubt that the loss of one's soul was the ultimate punishment. What is needed to raise the story is that irony we call poetic justice, and this is supplied within the first fifty lines, and with it the motivation for the summoner's zeal.

This motivation is not social dedication but private profit. The archdeacon's treasury got only half what this summoner extorted, for, as we are now told, he served fake summonses to people who could not read them but who were usually guilty enough to be "glade for to fille his purs./ And make hym grete feestes atte nale" (1348-9). At other times he merely used the information brought him by his protected prostitutes to threaten their customers with court action, and allowed himself to be bought off with bribes. Surely there is an implication too, that he is not above committing the sin he specializes in sniffing out. These informer-whores are "alwey... redy to his hond...;/ For hire acqueyntance was nat come of newe" (1339-42). In short, to quote one of the many beautifully polished couplets of this tale,

> He was, if I shal yeven hym his laude,
> A theef, and eek a somnour, and a baude. (1353-4)

Chaucer now moves into the tale proper, and in the same motion, by a sleight of hand of style, casually introduces through an image a new theme of the expanding comedy:

> This false theef, this somonour,...
> Hadde alwey bawdes redy to his hond,
> As any hauk to lure in Engelond. (1338-40)

The summoner's relation to the sinner, in effect, is that of the hunter to the hunted. Twenty lines later the image is again glanced at by a single word. The summoner, we are told, would arrest with a false mandement both the lecher and the informer-bawd he lay with; then he would "pile the man, and lete the wenche go" (1362). All editors gloss "pile" in this passage as "rob", but the process is not so much simple robbery as blackmail, fleecing, and the word "pile", modern dialectal "pill", carrying the image of "skinning", is surely calculated to call up once more the falconry image. The summoner, who through the falcon of his mandement and the feathered lure of his bawd has brought his bird-sinner within reach, now skins the fowl and preserves the lure for use again.[12]

Seven lines later we have another hunting image, already quoted, where the summoner is likened to a "dogge for the bowe" (1369) who can perceive at once when a deer is wounded and run it down for his master.[13] Then, plunging into the narrative, we pass imperceptibly from this image world to the real world of the hunter, itself a double and deceptive one:

> And so bifel that ones on a day
> This somnour, *evere waityng on his pray*,
> Rood for to somne an old wydwe, a ribibe,
> Feynynge a cause, for he wolde brybe.
> And happed that he saugh bifore hym ryde
> A gay yeman, under a forest syde. (1375-80)

Entering the story we have entered into the world of dramatic irony. Scene: a forest. Discovered: a mounted bowman dressed in hunter's green. To him a summoner, riding,[14] a master hunter of men on the path of his prey, a villain of devilish skill in scenting and fastening on the guilty secrets of others. But he knows not this stranger's secret. He fails to detect a greater hunter and devil than himself when clothed in Kendal green. "Le premier tour du Diable," as Denis de Rougemont has remarked in another context, "est son *incognito*."[15]

Some critics have felt the summoner should have been warned by the colour that the stranger is from the underworld, but I think, with D. W. Robertson, that Chaucer's listeners and readers, as well as the summoner, would have been insensitive to such pedantries.[16] Green cloth was habitually worn by foresters, yeomen and hunters; for the latter especially, the colour made sense as camouflage; also it was thought to be naturally attractive to beasts. What more likely a person to find "under this grene-wode shawe" than a man in green? If the summoner is obtuse at all here it is in assuming that the stranger is an ordinary yeoman rather than a hunter; if he has guessed the latter he might just conceivably have been able to suspect the stranger's diabolic origin, for demons often disguised themselves this way. Satan himself was sometimes described by the sermonists as the hunter of men in the wilderness of this world; there were tales of ghostly hunters on Dartmoor and elsewhere in Chaucer's England; and in France, as late as Reginald Scot's day, belief persisted in a certain Oray, "a great marquesse" among devils, "shewing himselfe in the likeness of a galant archer, carrieng a bowe and a quiver."[17]

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[12] See *English dialect dictionary*, PILL, v. 1: "to... strip off the outer skin". Cp. also lines 1407-8, where the summoner is compared to a butcher-bird, which, as Speght long ago noted, is "very rauenous, preying vpon others". See T. P. Harrison, 'Chaucer's "wariangles"', *N & Q*, CXCIX (1954) 189; Thos. Speght, ed. *Workes of... Chavcer* (London: Bishop 1598), annot. to Fo⁰. 39 p. I.

[13] In the *Memoriale presbiterorum* of 1344 corrupt archdeacons and their apparitors are described as *canes infernales*; see W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the fourteenth century* (CUP 1955) 207, 271.

[14] Not walking, though archdeacon's apparitors such as he were not allowed horses; see L. A. Haselmayer, 'The Apparitor and Chaucer's Summoner,' *Speculum* XII (1937) 56. It may be assumed he uses a horse the better to round up his victims.

[15] *La part du diable* (Paris: Gallimard 1946) 15.

[16] 'Why the Devil wears green,' *MLN* LXIX (1954) 470-2. In point of fact, though devils could be green, red, yellow, or blue, the popular notion was that of Widow Mabely, that they were ragged and "blak and rough of hewe" (1622), so that if anything could have warned the summoner it would have been the unusual black fringes on the devil's green courtepy. Devils with black mantles are frequent in Germanic legends; it seems to be only in Spanish tales that green devils are frequent, but the Spanish proverb, "as green as the devil", is supposed to have arisen because green was a sacred colour of the enemy Moor; see M. J. Rudwin, *The devil in legend & literature* (Chicago: Open Court 1931) 45 f.; A. Warkentin, *The devil in the German traditional story* (U. of Chicago 1937) 23.

The summoner, however, had never read Grimm, nor on the other hand was he one of those holy innocents like St. Dunstan who could tell a devil by his smell; consequently he greets the strange green man with instinctive comradeship: "Hayl, and wel atake!" (1384). The yeoman's reply seems at first reading to be simply in kind: "Welcome, and every good falawe!" But "good felawe" is a phrase that never occurs in good faith in Chaucer.[18] The summoner of the *General Prologue*, we remember, would lend his concubine to a "good felawe" for a year and teach any "good felawe" to free himself, by salting the summoner's palm, from fear of the archdeacon's curse (I: 650 ff). Colloquially a "good felawe" was a rascal, though it might mean only a "boon companion."[19] Perhaps the mysterious man in green intends only the latter but I think we are being given our first hint here that the fiend knows very well who the rider is who has so well overtaken him. And it is just possible that he is savouring his devil's prevision when he askes the summoner if he intends to ride far today, and elicits the answer: "Nay;/Heere faste by" (1388-9). Certainly Chaucer has arranged it so that, on a second reading, we remember the summoner will be riding all the way to hell before the day is over.

The extent of the devil's foreknowledge in this tale has not, I believe, been critically considered, and yet it is basic to an understanding of its ironies. He is not, of course, The Devil, Satan himself, whom Chaucer mentions twice only in his writings and each time as "ybounde" in Hell. This pseudo-bailiff is, in Biblical terminology, only a demon or fiend, an anonymous lesser devil, in fact a hard-worked servant-hellion, — somewhat like Juliana's tempter -- as he himself explains later (1426-9).[20] But to Chaucer's public even the humblest fiends would be expected to have superior knowledge, if only, as Isidore of Seville had pointed out, because they had lived so long, being of angelic origin.[21] Though neither angels nor devils had full knowledge of the future they were thought to have more than mortal vision, speaking both physically and psychologically.[22] A demon visiting earth was, in particular, almost invariably portrayed as a soul-hunter of dreadful intuition, quick to detect the nearness of vulnerable prey, confident of victory.

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[17] Scot, *The discouerie of witchcraft*, 1584 facs. ed. (London: Rodker 1930) 218. For an example from the sermons, see *Blickling homilies*, II, 209 (on Psalm CXIX) cited by L. W. Cushman, *The devil and the vice in the English dramatic literature before Shakespeare*, Stud. zur Engl. Philol. VI (1900) 9. For ghostly hunters in general see M. D. Conway, *Demonology and devil lore* (N. Y.: Holt 1879) II, 353-61, & Edward Langton, *Satan, a portrait...* (London: Skeffington 1945) 73.

[18] The use is pejorative in all six of the instances listed in J. S. P. Tatlock & A. G. Kennedy, *A concordance to... Chaucer* (Washington: Carnegie 1927); see entry for 'fellow'.

[19] See Robinson's note, *op. cit.*, 667 (to I, 650).

The confidence was not always justified, however, for even the catastrophic consequences of a pact with a devil could be entirely avoided, at the last stroke of the clock, as Theophilus avoided them, and Celestin, by appeal from a repentant heart to the peculiar powers of the Virgin.[23] Indeed such escape must always be possible, since no devil, nor angel even, could share God's foreknowledge of a demonic victory over a man's soul.[24] The possibility of a happy reversal will become, as we shall see, structurally significant in the *Friar's Tale* too, but what is more important to understand at the initial stages of the story is that the yeoman-devil would have sufficient insight into the summoner's character to feel at least ninety per cent sure of carrying him off to hell.

Against this well-based confidence, manifested already through slyness and anticipatory irony, Chaucer now sets the equally strong but illusory confidence of the summoner himself, displayed through boldfaced lie and shameless boasting. It is the Eiron-Alazon conflict of Greek comedy all over again. Note how even the words the summoner picks to explain his business — "He dorste nat, for verray filthe and shame/ Seye that he was a somonour" — reinforce his pride in himself as a man of affairs: — "Myn entente [is]... /To ryden, for to reysen up a rente/ That longeth to my lordes duetee" (1389-94).

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[20] See Montagu Summers, *The history of witchcraft and demonology* (London: Kegan Paul 1926) 51f. For the conception of Satan bound see *CT*, II, 361, 634, & T. Spencer, 'Chaucer's Hell...', *Speculum* II (1927) 187. In the Harley MS of the *Harrowing of Hell* Christ tells Satan that he will bind him so fast that only "þe smale fendes þat bueþ nout stronge,/he shulen among men yonge"; ed W. H. Hulme, EETS e. s. 100 (London 1907) 13, lines 125, 133-4.

[21] See Langton, *op. cit.*, 64.

[22] *Ibid.*, 65. The concept of a disguised fiend using superhuman knowledge to trap souls is, of course, common to many literatures, including Old English (see *Juliana*) and Scandinavian (Loki); see R. E. Woolf, 'The devil in Old English poetry,' *RES* n. s. IV (1953) 1-12.

[23] The Theophilus story was widely known in western Europe from the sixth century; among those who treated it were Paulus Diaconus, Hrotswitha and Rutebeuf. See E. A. Grillot de Givry, *Le Musée des sorciers, mages et alchimistes* (Paris: *Libraire de France* 1929) 112 f; & Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 179. For the Celestin legend see G. H. Gerould, *Saints' legends* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin 1916) 228.

[24] Aquinas held that devils experience frustration and sorrow when souls which they had wished to be damned are saved; see *Summa Theologica* I, qu. lxiv art. 3.

"Artow thanne a bailly?" asks the yeoman (1392), quickly cutting the summoner down to size. Receiving the answer " Ye", the stranger proceeds straight-faced to admit that he too is a bailiff. That the fiend is not deceived, that he knows all along his companion is a summoner, we can surely infer from the fact that eighty lines later, without further information from his victim, he calls him "sire somonour" (1474). But though the devil is not deluded, the summoner is. Moreover he is hooked on his own lie, and the fiend slyly tightens the line to him, meanwhile savouring the ironies of the situation. "Depardieux," he says — swearing an unusual and fancy oath which in itself carries a verbal irony — "Depardieux,... deere broother,/ Thou art a bailly, and I am another" (1395-6). Brother-bailiffs, so why not friends?, he adds. Why not, indeed, sworn brothers, like Palamon and Arcite, or Amis and Amiloun?

This is rushing matters, however, and we would lose faith in the reality of both summoner and devil if the latter had not, before the former could hesitate, smoothly dangled a real lure. "I have gold and silver in my cheste;/ If that thee happe to comen in oure shire,/ Al shal be thyn..." (1400-2). The lure has been feathered by an ironist. All the devil's possessions will indeed be the summoner's, though he will have to remain in that dim shire to enjoy them.

And so each lays "his trouthe" in the other's hand (1404), as they must to pledge brotherhood, brotherhood unto death. "Grantmercy,... by my feith" (1403), intones the summoner — a cliché plighting perhaps, but note how the irony of two deceivers swearing fidelity to each other, and swearing it on their own sinister and undefined faiths, is played upon henceforth. The summoner, now that he is a brother to the yeoman, demands to be told "feithfully" (1420) the yeoman-bailiff's tricks, so that he may improve his own technique. "As my brother tel me, how do ye?" (1423). And the disguised fiend replies, "Now, *by my trouthe*, brother deere,... As I shal tellen thee a *feithful* tale" — then hands him a carefully vague story about his having a master so niggardly he must take anything that "men wol me yive" (1430), or that he can get out of them by trickery or extortion, to make ends meet. "I kan no bettre telle, *feithfully*," he concludes (1433).

But in this new comedy of false brotherhood we are not allowed to forget the old one of the hunter unwittingly hunted. The very first question the summoner asks in seeking to exploit the advantages of brotherhood with a bailiff is the yeoman's dwelling place, in case he wants to look him up "another day" (1411). "This yeman hym answerde in softe speche, / 'Brother,' quod he, 'fer in the north contree'" (1412-3). The ambiguity of this remark, with what Robinson calls its "veiled revelation of the Yeoman's character," has long been enjoyed.[25] *Ab aquilone omne malum*, including the Satan of Job and Jeremiah. On the medieval stage Hell was sited north.[26] And the rest of the stranger's "softe" reply is such a conscious double-dealing in words it raises him to the company of the fox in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*:

> ... fer in the north contree,
> Where-as I hope som tyme I shal thee see.
> Er we departe, I shall thee so wel wisse
> That of myn hous ne shaltow nevere mysse. (1413-6)

What follows is even more subtle. As Mrs Dempster has put it, "in the summoner's failure to perceive this irony, in his easy, unconcerned way of dropping the question as satisfactorily settled, there is almost as much dramatic irony as in any answer he might have given."[27]

And now the devil's disingenuous confession that he must live by extortion leads the summoner on to a worse one. He also has to live, he assures his new brother, by conscienceless blackmailings which, moreover, he never confesses at shrift (alas for his soul). And of course he too will accept anything offered: "I spare nat to taken, God it woot,/ But if it be to hevy or to hoot" (1435-6). The last expression, as all Chaucer editors hasten to tell us, is proverbial.[28] Perhaps, however, it is there not because Chaucer could not resist a proverb but because this one points unerringly forward to the denouement, when the summoner will extort his last gift, a curse from the widow which proves so heavy and so hot it sinks him straight to hell.

Meantime the summoner is happy and at ease. He has met a charming fellow-rogue, a generous one who promises him a share in the loot, a sophisticated one to whom he can unbutton his rogueries without being under the necessity of pretending penitence,[29] and a learned one from whom even he may hope to acquire new tricks in extortion. It was a wonderful overtaking. "Wel be we met," says the summoner again, "By God and by Seint Jame!" (1443). They will ride forth to adventure, brother-hunters. Casually then, as a polite after-thought, the summoner turns to his "leeve brother" and enquires his name (1444). "This yeman gan a litel for to smyle" — the smile of Pandarus and of the *diabolus cachinnans*[30] about to release the dramatic irony he has created upon its victim — "'Brother,' quod he, 'wiltow that I thee telle? /I am a feend; my dwellyng is in helle'" (1446-8). How simply he puts it! "And heere I ryde aboute my purchasyng,/ To wite wher men wol yeve me any thyng./ My purchas is th'effect of al my rente" (1449-51) — just as the ferreting out of lechers is, for the summoner, "the fruyt of al *his* rente" (1373). The yeoman, confessed devil now, proceeds to underline the parallel between them: "Looke how thou rydest for the same entente,/ To wynne good, thou rekkest nevere how" (1452-3) — a pretty ambiguity in that word "good" — "Right so fare I, for ryde wolde I now / Unto the worldes ende for a *preye*."

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[25] *Op. cit.*, 705. The irony was first noted by Thos. Wright in his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, Percy Soc. Pubs., nos 24-26 (1847-51) II, 7n.

[26] See Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 63. There may also be lingering here, in the suggestion of the vagueness and bleakness of the devil's home, a touch of the OE conception of the fiend as a wanderer without meadhall or kin, *fah ond freondleas*; see Woolf, *loc. cit.*, 8.

[27] *Op. cit.*, 43.

[28] See Robinson, *op. cit.*, 705.

[29] It is surely a failure to recognize the peculiarly sophisticated villainy of this summoner, and the conditions of "brotherhood", which has led even such a perceptive critic as D. S. Brewer to find in the summoner's self-revelation only a "non-realistic... satiric convention" of the times; see his rev. of G. H. Gerould's *Chaucerian essays* in *RES* n. s. V (1954) 404.

With a less skilful narrator than Chaucer there might well have been a slump in the dramatic interest at this point. The devil has revealed himself, the irony of the mistaken identity is ended. At once, however, the central idea latent in the original *facezia* takes over, the hair-raising comedy of a rogue so confident he will compete with, even advise, a declared devil. A lesser villain would have taken fright at the mere thought that he has got himself into sworn brotherhood with a fiend, into a demon-compact. This was an age when, as Coulton has remarked, the ordinary man believed utterly in the existence of devils.[31] Even a hardened criminal would have murmured *retro me Sathanas* out of pure prudence. But this summoner is of the stuff that Fausts are made. He is only momentarily startled: "*Benedicite*! what sey ye?/ I wende ye were a yeman trewely./ Ye han a mannes shap as wel as I" (1456-8).[32] Surprise gives place at once to coolly admiring curiosity. Here is an excellent trick; it would be valuable to learn how it is done: "Han ye a figure thanne determinat/ In helle...?" (1459-60) The information of power, the sort of knowledge that might bring illimitable earthly position and pleasure beyond what is obtainable by natural means, this is what Gerbert and Theophilus and Faust wanted, what all who sold their souls hoped to gain. It is the quality in this summoner which makes him far more 'modern' than Benét's Daniel Webster, but it is also that fatal illimitable curiosity about the devil's secrets which is as old as Eve and as mediaeval as the dabblers in black magic denounced by Passavanti in Chaucer's century.[33]

The fiend, replying, continues to savour the irony of his role. He assures the summoner that in hell devils can have any shape or no shape, at will, and on earth choose that form which "moost able is oure preyes for to take" (1472). A less confident Alazon than our summoner might have asked himself at this point why the fiend had chosen this day to utilize the form of an extortionist bailiff, the very disguise which the summoner himself had assumed. But the blissfully assured apparitor is puzzled only by something apparently impractical in the devil's conduct. What motivation could a fiend have to busy himself with various human disguises and sweaty ridings over the earth, only to make the same chancy living as himself? Where lay the profit? Particularly, perhaps he is thinking, where did it lie for someone who already has chests of gold at home? "What maketh yow to han al this labour?" (1473). It never crosses the summoner's mind that the devil might be interested in anything as immaterial as a soul.

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[30] The detail is paralleled in one of the analogues, Bryan & Dempster, *op. cit.*, 269 f. Cp. *TC* II, 505.

[31] G. G. Coulton, *Five centuries of religion* (CUP 1923) I, 95.

[32] Note the strong contrast, extending even to the verbal, with the reaction of the prototypal character in the exemplum printed by Taylor, *loc. cit.*: "*Demon*: Ego sum demon. *Rusticus*: O maledicte..."

[33] See Fra Jacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio di vera penitenzia*, ed. M. Lenardon (Firenze 1925), 350, 376 f; and Arpad Steiner, 'The Faust legend and the Christian tradition,' *PMLA* LIV (1939) 400-1.

And now the fiend evades the revelatory answer, just as the summoner had missed the key question. He reminds his friend that time is getting on and he prefers to spend the rest of the day winning something rather than explaining all the wits and wiles of hell. His attitude to the summoner, we begin now to realize, has been subtly changing from the moment he has declared his own identity. The "leeve brother"'s that larded his speech have disappeared, and will reappear only as open ironies. And he has gone on to betray a little contempt for the summoner's powers, as a mere mortal, to penetrate the disguises of devils:

> Somtyme lyk a man, or lyk an ape,
> Or lyk an angel kan I ryde or go.
> It is no wonder thyng thogh it be so;
> A lowsy jogelour kan deceyve thee,
> And pardee, yet kan I moore craft than he. (1464-8)

A little contempt here and, though the fiend is not claiming more than his due,[34] a little archetypal devil's pride.

The subtleties of the changing relationships between these two, first as stranger-equals, then as false-bailiff brothers, now as declared devil to undeclared summoner, are reflected even by such *trivia* as the wavering from polite "ye" to familiar "thee" in the summoner's speech, and back (as Norman Nathan has recently pointed out).[35] He addresses the stranger formally at meeting, slips into the familiar (1396), pulls himself back when he hears the yeoman has a chest of gold at home (1410), drops to the intimate when the yeoman complains that his income is nevertheless small (1444), nips back to the polite when he discovers the yeoman is a fiend (1456), and does not return to the familiar till the devil assures him they are still sworn brothers and will share their loot (1526). The devil, on the other hand, starts to *tutoyer* the summoner from the moment they meet.

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[34] Demonic disguises included even the clerical; there is a report of a devil appearing as a grey friar in Banbury, Essex, in 1402. For angelic cloakings there is the authority of St. Paul (II *Cor.* xl, 14). "Lyk an ape" has reference rather to the conception of Satan as one who sought to rival, and so to mimic, to ape God. Rudwin ascribes the tendency to carve devils in monkey form to this conceit and notes that in the early patristic writings Satan is frequently called *simia Dei*; *op. cit.*, 43f.

[35] 'Pronouns of address in the *Friar's Tale*,' *MLQ* XVII (1956) 39-42.

Meanwhile, in the slyest possible manner, the irony of the disguises comes to an end. The stranger from hell had already taken off his double masks of yeoman and bailiff. But what of the summoner and his bailiff-mask? We have seen that the fiend has all along subtly shown his awareness of the summoner's identity, and his intention in respect to him, but he has revealed this only to the audience, so that they may enjoy with him the divine *eironeia* of omniscience looking down on the summoner's proud human ignorance. It is only when the pseudo-bailiff at last asks the declared devil what his real purpose is, that the latter, in an evasive answer, casually and politely lifts the summoner's own false-face: "'What maketh yow to han al this labour?'"/ "'Ful many a cause, leeve sire *somonour*'" (1473-4).

Even now the summoner gives no sign, makes no protest, his villainous imperturbability equal even to this demonstration of the supernatural insight possessed by the creature with whom he is playing a game of brotherhood. He simply listens, tacitly acknowledging his identity, while the devil, enjoying his first little triumph, drives home the point of his superior intelligence. He will not, he says, take valuable time from the day's hunt to explain everything about his profession, "For, brother myn, thy wit is al to bare..." (1480). The demon proceeds nevertheless, as by a condescending after-thought, to read the summoner a lecture on the diabolic function, while the summoner rides in silence — the only weapon he has left in this "daliance" he was so eager to begin.

Most critics treat the devil's disquisition here as an author's digression, a piece of interesting but non-functional even disharmonious pedantry by Chaucer. One solemn analyzer is quite sure the passage constitutes the most open satiric attack to be found in the whole *Canterbury Tales* upon theology in general.[36] Yet the lecture is surely entirely functional and in harmony with the spirit of comic irony that pervades this whole tale. In the first place, it is not only the summoner who has grown curious about the motivations and intentions of the devil. So has the reader, and the story would be less understandable and less satisfying if the reader were not supplied with good reasons for diabolic visitations to earth. In the second place, the narrator turns this expositional necessity into an opportunity for further ironies. The devil is only mock-humble in his skeptical asides and his vaguenesses, for he is being diabolically careful not to disclose which of the various purposes are activating him — with the result that the summoner is left just sufficiently in the dark to preserve his own *hubris*. The climax is still to come and it is not to be anticipated. Devils, we learn, are sometimes sent to deal with men at the command of God Himself, and so operate, despite themselves, for man's salvation. In this why he has appeared to the summoner? No, since the methods used in such cases are apparently all painful, involving torment of the body, as with Job, or of the spirit, or of both. But so far this fiend has troubled neither the proud flesh nor the avaricious soul of the summoner. Is there another permutation? Yes, and the fiend carefully ends the first half of his commentary on this climax:

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[36] W. Ewald, *Der Humor in Chaucers Canterbury Erzählungen*, Stud. zur Engl. Philol. XLV (1911) 73-4. Ewald cites 1506-12, 1517-20, 1636-8.

And somtyme be we servant unto man,
As to the erchebisshop Seint Dunstan,
And to the apostles servant eek was I. (1501-3)

A servant unto man! What a glowing prospect for this summoner. True he is neither apostle, saint, nor even archbishop, but has not the very devil who was once assigned to serve the apostles themselves been sent today to him?[37] Some such comforting thoughts, and not fearsome ones, must certainly be the summoner's at this moment for he does not ask if the demon is after his body or soul or both, but only for professional information: exactly how do fiends make up complete "newe bodies" for themselves (1504-6)? It is not only a nice scientific problem, it is a technical secret that might, who knows, prove of value to a man whose profession, as we have seen, puts him in need of disguise, and whose last mask has been found quite inadequate. This *soigné* summoner-Faust, so far from being frightened, is seizing the moment to study how to be a complete devil himself.

The demon is amused enough to give him a sort of answer. Sometimes we create the illusion of new bodies, but often we simply make use of old ones, as when we raised Samuel to speak to the Witch of Endor. It is a dubious example, since the theologians held it was Samuel's true ghost, with no witchcraft or hellcraft involved, and our devil quickly leaves the subject, ending his sermon with the scornful shrug of a man of Satan speaking to a mere man of the Church: "I do no fors of youre dyvynytee" (1512). He cannot, however, resist an extra touch of foreshadowing:

But o thyng warne I thee, I wol nat jape, —
Thou wolt algates wite how we been shape;
Thou shalt herafterward, my brother deere,
Come there thee nedeth nat of me to leere. (1513-6)

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[37] Ironically, too, it does not cross the summoner's mind that devils become men's servants only through the power of men's holiness, as with St. Dunstan. See Sr. Mary Immaculate, 'Fiends as "servant unto man" in The *Friar's Tale,*' *PQ* XXI (1942) 240-4.

Below the obvious implication that the summoner is ultimately hell-bound there lies, on second reading, the nice ambiguity of "herafterward", since the summoner is to learn it all firsthand before this day is over.

What a worthy forerunner this learned tricky *diabolus* is of the Mephistopheles of the Elizabethans! Like Faust's betrayer he has the stamp of the Apocryphal Asmodeus on him, that devil whom the middle ages pictured as a most handsome and likable sophisticate, gambler, authority on the occult, author and patron of the arts (he was supposed to have helped Boccaccio write the *Decameron*), and a scholarly Master of Arts himself from the great College of Hell.[38] Chaucer's devil indeed thinks of Hell in academic terms:

> For thou shalt, by thyn owne experience,
> Konne in a chayer rede of this sentence
> Bet than Virgile, while he was on lyve,
> Or Dant also.[39] (1517-20)

Yet, beneath the comedy of this conception of the summoner mounting the hard way to a flaming professor's chair of Infernal Economy and expounding from it with more authority than any mere imagining poet, lies the curious comi-tragedy which is the hallmark of Chaucer. If the summoner protested at this moment, or even gave heed, there would only be comedy. It is his silence, his heedlessness, his terrible preoccupation with what he can get out of the devil, not what the devil may get out of him, that carries the poem into the realm of the ironies of fate. So far as his soul goes, this summoner is what we might call today a "murderee"; his deafness to all warnings, his assumption of his own invulnerability, his very indifference to the subject of souls, of his own soul above all, predetermines his loss of it. What Nevill Coghill has said of the Pardoner is perhaps even more apropos of this summoner: "He has taken the root of all evil to be his good; as the Maiorcan proverb has it, he is seeing black white. But Chaucerian irony has a quality... beyond the power of this root principle of opposition between what is said and meant or what is done and intended. It is the quality of doom... What is more ironical than a will supposed free, freely struggling to attain a preordained doom, the opposite of its intention?"[40]

For see now how the summoner forces his fate upon himself. The devil has ended his sermon and its monitory peroration, and he seeks to restore the conversation to simple "daliance", and even to give the summoner a way out by letting him feel free to end their companionship. The fiend's phrasing, of course, may also contain another sinister foreboding:

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[38] See Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 91; Conway, *op. cit.*, 263-5; and H. Engel, *Structure and plot in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Doct. diss., Rhein. Fried. Wilh. Univ., Bonn 1931) 75.

[39] Cp. the *diabolus* in the "Death of Herod" scene, *Ludus Coventriae*, who promises to bring Herod "on to my celle. / I xal hem teche pleys fyn / *and* showe such myrthe as is in helle"; ed. K. S. Block, EETS e. s. 120 (1922) 176, lines 234-6. In the "Last Supper" scene from the same cycle a demon addresses "Judas Derlyng myn": "Anon þou xalt come where þou xalt wonne / In fyre *and* stynk þuo xalt sytt me by"; 258, lines 787f.

[40] *Op. cit.*, 161.

> '...Now lat us ryde blyve,
> For I wole holde compaignye with thee
> Til it be so that thou forsake me.'
> 'Nay,' quod this sumonour, 'that shal nat bityde!
> I am a yeman, known is full wyde;
> My trouthe wol I holde, as in this cas.' (1520-5)

The devil had already unmasked the summoner's pretense to be a yeoman bailiff, but the summoner with his usual effrontery and reckless avarice, claps the mask back on. He has caught a devil by the tail for a partner, and he is not going to let go; let the devil understand he is dealing with a respectable citizen who keeps, and demands, business-like fidelity to a troth:

> 'As I am sworn, and ech of us til oother,
> For to be trewe brother in this cas;
> And bothe we goon abouten oure purchas.
> Taak thou thy part, what that men wol thee yive,
> And I shal myn; thus may we bothe lyve.
> And if that any of us have moore than oother,
> Lat hym be trewe, and parte it with his brother.'
> 'I graunte,' quod the devel, 'by my fey.'
> And with that word they ryden forth hir wey. (1528-36)

There follows the incident of the carter and his mired horses, the first possible bit of business for the partnership. When the infuriated driver consigns his animals, cart, load and all, to the devil the summoner is fascinated. How easy it's going to be. "Heere shal we have a pley" (1548), but not the pley he thinks. Characteristically it is the summoner who proposes that the devil take possession of property which has been, so to speak, only orally delivered to him. For the former it is 'the more taken the more shared.' Here of course Chaucer is following the ancient story, by making the devil more ethical, judging men by their intentions not their words.[41] But it is very much Chaucer's devil who takes time, when the horses free the cart and the carter calls on Christ to bless them, to underline the lesson with a couplet which in itself is almost a definition of one kind of irony: "Heere may ye se, myn owene deere brother, / The carl spak oo thing, but he thoghte another" (1567-8).

The manifold implications of that remark are lost on the summoner. What is in his thought, as they pass through the town (his last earthly town) and out its farther end, is simply that the fiend has muffed a chance, and that he is now in a position to score over him. Cowling has remarked that "the Summoner is so hardened and determined in his trickery that, compared with him, the devil is a country bumpkin."[42] This, however, is only what the devil wants the summoner to think.

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[41] In Taylor's *exemplum, loc. cit.*, 38, the farmer points out to the devil a sheep being cursed by its drover, then a child by its mother. The devil says he will accept only "quicquit michi spontanee offertur". See also Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 177, for evidence that in all demon-compacts the fiend never cheats though the man often attempts to, occasionally even successfully.

Now they stop at the gate of a widow, presumably the victim the summoner originally set out for. She constitutes, he is careful to inform his brother, a real test of a summoner's skill, for she is notoriously stingy on the one hand, and without a vice on the other — at least so far as the summoner knows. Nevertheless, he boasts, he will have twelvepence or summon her to court. In the flush of his anticipation he even rises to irony himself, at the devil's expense: "But for thou kanst nat, *as in this contree*, / Wynne thy cost, taak heer ensample of me" (1579-80). I do not know if it has been observed that this is the last thing he ever gets to say to the devil. From now on till the fiend wins him and whisks him to hell the summoner is fully engaged in coping with his intended victim.

His method is instant aggression. He bangs on the gate and roars the sort of insult that will winkle the old woman out at once. "I trowe thou hast som frere or preest with thee" (1583). If she hasn't, why doesnt she show herself? She emerges; he immediately declares he has a summons, and orders her, on pain of excommunication, to appear the next morning and "answere to the court of certeyn thynges" (1589) carefully unspecified.

At once she calls upon the heavens in protest. Yet it should be observed that it is not her innocence she asserts but her inability to appear in court. She has been sick, she cannot walk or ride any distance, she has a pain in her side. Can't he leave a copy of the charge and have her attorney answer for her? This lady doth protest too much, it seems, and not about the right things, and the effect upon the reader is a certain suspense: has the summoner, with his infallibly lucky nose, scented out a stricken deer after all, a victim too guilty to curse him?

Certainly the summoner thinks so, and it is our awareness of this which gives the climax its dramatic power. He does not stop to remind himself that the threat of his master's court could strike terror even into the innocent--for who could be sure they had not involuntarily exposed themselves to some charge in a century when mere association with certain excommunicated persons might lead to the same penalty for the associate, and when inability to pay the accompanying fine could lead to indefinite imprisonment?[43] He does not pause to consider that she has called on the Lord in witness, on "Crist Jhesu, kyng of kynges" (1590), and finally on "Seinte Marie" — the only Power, in the tradition of devil-pacts, whom the summoner could have called upon effectively at this juncture to save himself.[44] Such adjurations, to a summoner, are only expletives, signs of her guilty agitation, and they spur him on to his own fate. Even her request for delay he takes as a readiness to bribe. All right, he says, in effect, pay me five dollars and I'll let you off. I won't make much out of it, believe me, "My maister hath the profit, and nat I" (1601).

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[42] G. H. Cowling, *Introduction to Chaucer* (N. Y.; Dutton 1927) 169-70.

[43] See Muriel Bowden, *A commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (N. Y.: MacMillan 1949) 267; and H. M. Gwatkin, *Church and State in England...* (London: Longmans 1917) 99.

The various ironies of the tale have so come together at this point that this line can be read on at least three levels. First we accept it as a piece of the summoner's technique. Then we remember that it must be a briber's lie, since he has no summons against her and will pocket anything he gets. Third, we perceive that the statement is an unconscious prophecy, for his "maister" is no longer the archdeacon but the fiend who will shortly take the "profit", i. e. both the widow's pan (the only object the summoner apparently succeeds in depriving her of) and the summoner himself, as his just and agreed-on "rente".

The widow continues to protest, in exactly the terms which lure the summoner on. It is her poverty now, still not her innocence, she pleads — what good to plead innocence to a summoner? Have mercy, she cries, let me off this time. He is sure he has hooked her! And now in his delusion of triumph he bellows a denial of mercy, and by the very wording of his denial puts into his victim's mind the formula which will in a few moments remove him forever from access to the seat of Mercy: "'Nay thanne,' quod he, 'the foule feend me fecche / If I th'excuse, though thou shul be spilt!'" (1610-1). Then, and only then, does the forlorn old woman say: "Allas!... God woot, I have no gilt" (1612).

It is too late. He takes note but he cannot retreat, driven by his inner Nemesis of avarice and pride. He must get something today, and he must outdo the fiend, nay instruct him in the fine art of extortion. He reduces the demand to her new pan. Also, in reckless desperation, he makes precise at last his accusation. It is a double one, so scabrous he must have hoped she would pay him, however innocent, to get rid of him rather than to suffer the sheer scandal of the charges. She has defaulted, he says, on a debt she owes him, a bribe he paid to protect her from the consequences of her secret adultery.

He has gone too far. The quarry turns on the hunter, the slandered widow falls on her knees, not before the archdeacon, as the summoner had threatened, but before heaven, and blasts her tormentor.[45] He lies, she is utterly innocent, "Ne nevere I nas but of my body trewe!" (1621). As for *his* body,

> Unto the devel blak and rough of hewe
> Yeve I thy body and my panne also! (1622-3)

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[44] See Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 179.

[45] Shifting, as she does so, scornfully to the familiar "thou"; v. Nathan, *loc. cit.*, 40 f.

Upon the dreadul agent of Christ's curse the most dreadful of all curses has fallen.[46] Yet still there is a moment of suspense. She has uttered the fatal formula — but does she mean it? The witnessing fiend has, we have seen, his principles and his punctilio in these matters, and he intervenes now, with the utmost respect, not to say affection, to make sure that it is time to whisk the summoner off to his master, the black and shaggy Satan himself:

> Now, Mabely, myn owene mooder deere,
> Is this youre wyl in ernest that ye seye? (1626-7)

It is, and she repeats it — or does she? Is there still a chance for the summoner?

> 'The devel,' quod she, 'so fecche hym er he deye,
> And panne and al, *but he wol hym repente!*' (1628-9)

Unless he will repent! The summoner still balances on the pit's edge. And now, in the last words he speaks on earth, he topples himself over:

> 'Nay, olde stot, that is nat myn entente,'
> Quod this somonour, 'for to repente me...
> I wolde I hadde thy smok and every clooth!' (1630-3)

It only remains now for the fiend smoothly, with brotherly firmness, to bring down the curtain — and with a final jest at the summoner's lifelong passion to imitate and outdo the devil himself:

> 'Now, brother,' quod the devel, 'be nat wrooth;
> Thy body and this panne been myne by right.
> Thou shalt with me to helle yet to-nyght,
> Where thou shalt knowen of oure privetee
> Moore than a maister of dyvynytee.' (1634-8)

The last ambiguities have been uttered. In a single line we pass to the ultimate irony of the deed: "And with that word this foule feend hym hente" (1639). Two lines more and we are at the moral:

> And, God, *that maked after his ymage*
> *Mankynde*, save and gyde us, all and some,
> And leve thise somonours goode men bicome! (1642-4)

Conventional, an insincerely pious hope of the narrating Friar,[47] since he has just told us that hell is the "heritage" of all summoners (1641), these three lines are nevertheless most delicately calculated by Chaucer to do most important things. The phrase "after his ymage" reminds us of all that has gone before. What was the summoner's sin that cast him into eternal hell if it was not his insensitivity, in his avaricious pride, to the idea that he was modelled by God, and his determination to make over his image into that of the devil? The theme of human faces and the masks they wear, the realities beneath disguises, a theme which we have seen to be constant in this tale, is sounded once more in the first two lines of this moral.

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[46] F. J. Tupper had noted this "poetic" irony in his 'Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins,' *PMLA* XXIX (1914) 112.

[47] Though not of Chaucer, whose characteristic Augustinian *charitas* toward all sinners makes itself heard even here, as Sister Mary Makarewicz has remarked; *The Patristic influence on Chaucer* (Washington: Catholic U. of America 1953) 208.

The third leads us back from the tale told, which alone I have been concerned with, the tale complete in itself and as labyrinthine in its ironies as any Chaucer wrote, to the outer and almost equally intricate maze that surrounds it — to the tale's teller and to the Canterbury pilgrimage, the scene of the telling.[48]

[48] My thanks are due to Professor Beatrice White, Westfield College, U. of London, for helpful counsel in the final preparation of this paper.

The Latin Revisions of Felix's "Vita Sancti Guthlaci"

W. F. BOLTON

THE popularity of the eighth-century *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* by the monk Felix can be estimated from the many literary documents to which it more or less directly gave rise. The original *Vita* survives in thirteen manuscripts, and new treatments continued to appear at least as late as 1400. These epitomes and versifications were often complete revisions of the earlier work, and to this extent they reflect new attitudes toward hagiographical literature which developed in the centuries after Felix. The vernacular tradition, with one exception, took a different course from that of the Latin versions, and it is with the latter that this paper will deal.[1]

The *Vita* itself was part of a tradition which had existed for centuries before Guthlac and his first biographer. The lives of saints were a concern of Tertullian, and the lives of hermits were recorded in the several Greek works of the fifth century which go by the name of *Vitae Patrum*. The fathers of the Western Church were equally concerned with hagiography, Jerome, Gregory I, Bede and the poet Prudentius, among many others.[2] A popular saint's legend would be the subject of several *vitae*: St. Martin of Tours, about whom Sulpicius Severus wrote a life and dialogues, was afterwards treated in metrical works by Paulinus Petricordensis, Fortunatus and Richerus Mettensis, and a prose life by Gregory of Tours, Alcuin and Guibertus Gemblacensis, along with a host of epitomes and *miracula*.[3] Most of St. Martin's later biographers acknowledged Sulpicius as their source,[4] but this conscientious practice was not by any means universal.

Thus Felix, who also made considerable use of the material and language of Sulpicius' works on St. Martin, said nothing of his source,[5] and the same is true of his extensive borrowings from a great number of other, mostly hagiographical, works, especially those on the model of the Athanasian *Vita Beati Antonii,* in which the struggles of the desert hermit against the powers of darkness occupy the main place of interest. From this tradition Felix did not hesitate to borrow, often at length and verbatim.[6] So eclectic, indeed, is his *Vita,* that the full list of his sources may never be known, and the historical source — the actual life of Guthlac himself — has been pushed into obscurity.[7]

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[1] A complete list of the MSS and of the subsequent treatments is in Bertram Colgrave, *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac* (Cambridge 1956) pp. 7-45, hereafter cited as "Felix." The exception to the rule that the vernacular versions of the legend developed independently of the Latin versions is the Anglo-Saxon prose translation of Felix, of which a detailed study is in Paul Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac* (Heidelberg 1909) pp. 1-96.

[2] The interest in hagiography is suggested by the entries under "Nomina Sanctorum quorum uitae aliaque memorantur" in *Sacris Erudiri* III (1951), pp. 428-432. This list ends with the mid-eighth century, i. e., about the time of the composition of Felix's *Vita*.

[3] *BHL* 5610 *et seq.*

[4] E. g., Gregory of Tours, *PL* 71, col. 911; Fortunatus, *PL* 88, col. 364.

[5] Felix, pp. 16, 60, 162.

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[6] Felix, pp. 17, 62-4, 86, 110, 174; B. P. Kurtz, *From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac* (Berkeley 1926).

[7] To the list of strictly verbal borrowings already supplied by Dr. Colgrave in his excellent edition of Felix, a few more sources and analogues may be added. They serve to substantiate what Dr. Colgrave has already indicated, that Felix had an especially great debt to Aldhelm and Bede.

Felix, p. 114, "armentorum... succedere;" Aldhelm, *PL* 89, col. 249, "phantasmate... armento... succedere."

Felix, p. 94, "in... latere... cisterna;" Aldhelm, *PL* 89, col. 131, "in... cisternae... latebra..."

Felix, p. 108, "Christi athleta, adepto de hostibus triumpho;" Aldhelm, *PL* 89, col. 253, "Sic miles Christi devicto hoste triumphat..."

Felix, p. 80, "dum fessa membra solitae quieti dimitteret;" Aldhelm, *PL* 89, col. 260, "Lecto sopitus cum somno membra dedisset."

Felix, p. 110, "millenis artibus millenas formas;" Aldhelm, *PL* 89, col. 124, "mille nocendi artibus..." (cf. *PL* 88, col. 383, and *PL* 20, col. 172).

Felix, pp. 104-106, "turmae clamabat... 'nobis... te torquere...;'" "Anon., *PL* 14, col. 44, "ita ibi daemonum turba clamabat se ab illo torqueri..."

Felix, p. 60, "In Domino dominorum domino meo;" Bede, *Vita Sancti Ceolfridi* (ed. Plummer, 1896), p. 399, and *Vitae Quinque Sanctorum Abbatum, ed. cit.*, p. 383, "Domino in Domino dominorum..."

Felix, p. 90, "quasi ad paternae hereditatis;" Bede, *ed. cit.*, p. 401, "a parente quasi hereditario iure..."

Felix, p. 100, "Ieiunium ergo non bidui aut tridui... sit, sed septenarum dierum valida castigatio ieiunium est;" Bede, *HE* IV: xxiii, "Multum est, ut tota septimana absque alimento corporis perdures; sed biduanum uel triduanum sat est obseruare ieiunium." (cf. Rufinus, *Verba Seniorum*. *PL* 73. col. 766. "biduana et triduana jejunia vanae gloriae vacant.")

Felix, p. 86, "Est in meditullaneis Brittanniae partibus.. palus... necnon et crebris insularum nemorumque intervenientibus flexuosis rivigarum anfractibus...;" Bede, *HE* IV: xvii, "Est autem Elge in provincia Orientalium Anglorum regio... in similitudinem insulae uel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata uel aquis..."

Felix, ch. xxxvi; Jerome, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis,* *PL* 23, chs. vi, xxxii; Gregory I, *Dialogii* III, iv.

Felix, p. 94, "post solis occasum...;" Jerome, *op. cit.*, col. 44, and Evagrius, *Vita Beati Antonii, PL* 73, col. 130, "post solis occasum..."

Felix, p. 60, "Salutem quidem saeculo non ab oratoribus, sed a piscatoribus praedicatam fuisse sciat;" Anon. *Acta Sancti Gaugerici, Acta Sanctorum* II Aug., p. 676: "cum gloriam regni Dei non.. ab oratoribus... sed a piscatoribus vitam seculo praedicatam."

Felix, p. 78, "hilari facie... simplici vultu;" Anon. *Vita Sancti Gaugerici, Analecta Bollandiana* VII (1888), p. 389, "vultu hilari, facie formosa, decoro aspectu..."

Felix, ch. xxx; Theodoretus, *Philotheus, PL* 74, cols. 85-6.

Felix cited eye-witness authorities for his material, but the citation itself, like so much of the *Vita*, was a convention of early hagiography.[8] Equally of Interest, Felix's work — written no less than sixteen years, and perhaps more, after the death of Guthlac — is the first extant document in which the saint is mentioned, even though Felix insists that Guthlac was well-known throughout England during his lifetime and the subject of widespread veneration after his death.[9] While this does not of course mean that the *Vita* was entirely a fiction, is does suggest the extent to which Felix was drawing on earlier documents for both form and content, and it explains in part the freedom with which his text was subsequently treated.

For something over 350 years, it appears from extant manuscripts, the text of Felix underwent only such alterations as scribal error and ingenuity might be expected to contribute, but its Aldhelmian heaviness must increasingly have limited its usefulness. During the first quarter of the twelfth century, the historian Ordericus Vitalis made an epitome of Felix during a visit to Croyland monastery, at the request of the abbot, Joiffred; even at the center of the still-flourishing Guthlac cult, the feeling was that the labored text of Felix could profit by expert modernization.[10]

Ordericus calls his version an "abbreviatio," and the original, "prolixo et aliquantulum obscuro dictatu... breviter dilucidavi." He omits Felix's mention of a biographical duty. He is aware that the Guthlac legend is on the Antonian model, and he believes that the holy deeds of the Saxons and Angles will be no lesss useful to the Roman faithful ("fidelibus Cisalpinis")

There are, moreover, general resemblances which seem to have been sources for some passages in Felix even though there are few or no direct verbal similarities: St. Martin of Tours, like Guthlac, became a soldier at the age of fifteen, and entered the religious life at twenty-four (*PL* 20, cols. 161-2). The life of St. Fursei, which Dr. Colgrave shows Felix to have known, has both the angelic chant of Ps. 83 (Mabillon *Acta Sanctorum* II, p. 301; Felix, p. 108) and the description of the dark cloud of demons (*op. cit.*, p. 302; Felix, p. 103).

[8] Felix, pp. 64, 92. He was quoting from Bede and Evagrius, but other hagiographers to voice the same claim included Siviardus, *PL* 74, cols 1247-8; Eddius (ed Colgrave, Cambridge 1927) p. 2, and Adamnanus, *PL* 88, cols. 728, 745.

[9] Felix, pp. 128, 138, 168. Three mentions of the saint which might antedate Felix are printed in Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London 1883), I, pp. 109, 110-1, 192-5. The first, dated by Birch 691 or 692, includes Guthlac's name as a witness, as does the second; the saint was a member of the royal house of Mercia, and both charters are from the hand of Aethelred of Mercia. The second must be rather later, for Aethelred mentions "conjugis quondam meae Osthrythae," who died in 697. There is, however, no way of being certain that the signature is genuine or, if it is, that it is that of the saint rather than a namesake. The third charter dates itself 714, "post parvum tempus migrationis beati Guthlaci de hoc saeculo." This appears, unfortunately, not in the original charter but in a copy in a late MS chronicle, and the name may have been inserted here, or in the first two cases, as the result of a process such as that described below, n. 26.

[10] *PL* 188, col. 357.

than those of the Greeks and Egyptians which "prolixae, sed delectabiles commodaeque collationes crebro leguntur, congestae sanctorum studio doctorum." He shows here that the *Vitae Patrum* "crebro leguntur" in the twelfth century, and that hagiographical works of this type are thought of as "delectabiles commodaeque," attractive and useful, the criteria which medieval criticism applied to literature in general.[11] It seems, then, that saints' lives were regarded as *literary* documents, and the revisions of Ordericus and the later adapters of the legend can be thought of as alterations to the text to maintain its attractiveness for each succeeding age, and in turn to preserve its usefulness.

The following incident may illustrate the kind of changes Ordericus made:

> Guthlacus itaque... fratres suos et magistros, quos insalutatos dimiserat, revisere profectus est ; iterumque post tres menses cum duobus pueris ad electam eremum... regressus est.[12]

The original passage in Felix is this:

> ...versari coepit, ut ad sodalium suorum colloquium veniret, quos sibi eximiae fraternitatis caritas in gremio catholicae congregationis iungebat, nam quos ante insalutatos dimittebat, iterum salutaribus praeceptis commendare disposuit. Interea mortalibus aegris lux crastina demoverat ortum, cum ille unde egressus est, remeare coeperat. Itaque intervenientibus ter tricenorum dierum curriculis quibus sodales suos fraternis commendabat salutationibus, ad supradictum locum, quasi ad paternae hereditatis habitaculum, binis illum comitantibus pueris, unde pervenit, regressus est.[13]

Ordericus depended on Felix for most of his vocabulary; he added little, left out a great deal. He erased the subjective content of Felix's passage and simplified the expressions of time in which Felix was prone to employ his most lavish circumlocutions. The Virgilian dawn is absent in Ordericus, and the course of thrice thirty days is simply "tres menses". Similarly, "cum duobus pueris" takes the place of "binis illum comitantibus pueris."

Ordericus was always ready to do away with Felix's "catalogues." The list of Guthlac's youthful virtues comes out "post mitem pueritiam"; his monastic habits are reduced to two, abstinence from liquor and diligence in study; the specifications of the attacking demons are left to the reader's imagination,[14] and the eulogy of the saint which occupies half of Felix's ch. li is omitted. But Ordericus was less eager to cut passages which he regarded as essential to the attractiveness and usefulness of his epitome. He retained almost intact Felix's brooding description of the fenland, and the death scenes — much of which Felix had taken verbatim from Bede — are abbreviated far less than most other passages.[15] At the same time, Ordericus telescoped several of the typically Antonian incidents, the attacks by demons disguised as Britons and wild animals, into a summary statement that Guthlac underwent many demonic assaults which with God's aid he withstood.[16] Ordericus was the first, but not the last, to destroy much of the meaning of another incident by his imprudent omissions. When Guthlac is visited by an abbot, two of the abbot's clerks slip away to enjoy themselves at a neighboring widow's house. Guthlac has a vision of their misbehavior but he "subridens vultum deflexit" before he is made to reveal his knowledge. Ordericus' Guthlac unsmilingly "cuncta per ordinem intimat" to the abbot, and thereby proves himself a humorless gossip.[17]

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[11] E. g., Richard de Bury, *Philobiblon*, ch. XIII. The tradition that Felix may have been a Croyland monk is contradicted by Ordericus' statement that he was a Burgundian bishop. While this is clearly a mistake, he would hardly have been allowed to make it at Croyland if Felix had been a local writer.

[12] *PL* 188, col. 358.

[13] Felix, p. 90.

[14] Felix, pp. 78-80, 84, 102; *PL* 188, cols. 357, 357, 358.

Another twelfth-century abbreviation appears in the chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford.[18] The author was not a careful student of Felix, and he made no mention of his source. He omitted a great deal, sometimes — rarely — added a little. His interest was chiefly in the "what happened" kind of chronicle and, although he did not dispense with all details of character, he remained an objective historian most of the time. Felix's interest in the saint's name, echoed by most of the later writers, hardly appears at all: we read only "Baptizatus autem uocatus est Guthlac, quod nomen sonat belli munus."[19] Similarly, whole incidents are eclipsed, such as Guthlac's final return to the abbey before the beginning of his life on Croyland and the story of the abbot's two miscreant clerks.[20] But John did not simply trim away Felix's narrative and recast the remainder in simpler language: Felix's description of the demons who invaded Guthlac's cell is quoted, altered and amplified.

> *Erant autem lurida facie* denigra, deformes, *capite* grosso, *collo* gracili et obtento, *barba* scabrapinnita, crine *squalido* et conglobato, *dentibus equinis*, *ore fetido* et igniuomo, *oculis* igneis et infossis, *pectore aruduo* et stricto, uentre *tum*enti, dorso gracili et natibus *cruribus* impetigmosis, tibiis *tortis* et gracilibus, *genibus* grossis et obduratis, *talo* recenso, *plantis auersis*.[21]

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[15] Felix, pp. 86, 150-60; *PL* 188, cols. 357-8, 361.

[16] Felix, pp. 108-10, 114-6; *PL* 188, col. 358.

[17] Felix, p. 134; *PL* 188, col. 359.

[18] Ed. Richard Vaughan, *Camden Miscellany* XXI (1958) pp. 4-8, hereafter "Wallingford."

[19] Wallingford, pp. 4-5. The phrase is similar to that in Petrus Blesensis, "Guthlacus in bapismo uocatus est: quod... sonat 'belli donum'," although the chronicler does not elsewhere seem to follow Petrus, and the similarity is probably coincidental.

[20] Felix, pp. 90, 132-36.

[21] Wallingford, p. 6. Cf. also the description of the demons in Pseudo-Abdia Babylonius,

I have italicized the words which derive from Felix to emphasize how much does not. John had his favorite words... "grossus," "gracilis"... but his demons are more visible than Felix's. Narrow-backed, scrawny-necked, their sunken eyes blazing, their bellies bulging, they seem to owe the details of their physical characteristics not only to orthodox iconology, as do Felix's demons, but also to remembered images of half-naked, starving beggars, the wretched outcasts of human society in whom are mirrored the outcasts of the celestial order. If John could surpass Felix in his use of outlandish words ("scabrapinnita" for "squalida," "natibus cruribus impetigmosis" for "femoribus scabris"), he could surpass him as well in forceful depiction when he wished.

But in the section dealing with the saint's first visit to his hermitage, John left out the dramatic description of the fenland:

> Dumque inquirendo locum [quo] solitas aliquantula esset, narrauit ei quidam nomine Thatuuine, piscator assuetus mariscis que interiacent Heli et Burco, de quadam medianne quam in ripis nouit, a qua, ut dixit, multi uolentes in ea hermitare ob insolentiam fantasmatum abacti sunt.[22]

As much as he put into the description of the demons, and more, John has taken out of this. There is no sense of a journey: John says one moment that Guthlac is obtaining from his superior permission to leave, the next that he is inquiring for a hermitage. Guthlac's journey into exile reflects both those of former monks and that of post-lapsarian mankind as a whole, but this typical aspect is lost. "Solitas aliquantula" is what a tired businessman seeks at the end of the day, not what a devout anchorite seeks for the rest of his life. This unsympathetic approach to his source and subject more often characterizes John's treatment of the Felix text than does the somewhat more fortunate description of the demons cited above. Both, however, show that John was entirely out of touch with the motivation Felix felt and the technique he employed, and that he had little inclination to renovate the Guthlac legend.

We may now turn to the chronicle of Croyland Abbey which depends for some of its passages on both Felix and Ordericus.[23] This work, ostensibly by Ingulph, abbot of Croyland 1085-1110, has long been regarded as a forgery of the fourteenth century, possibly about 1360,[24] but this will not do for the references to St. Guthlac. The *textus receptus* at Croyland after about 1200 was

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Acta Fabulosa Sancti Bartholomaei, Acta Sanctorum V Aug., p. 37: "facie acuta cum barba prolixa; crines usque ad pedes, oculos igneos sicut ferrum ignitum, scintillas emittens; ex ore ejus, & naribus egrediebatur flamma sulphurea: habens alas spineas, sicut strix..."

[22] Wallingford, pp. 5-6.

[23] Ed. Walter de Gray Birch, Wisbech, 1883. See also W. G. Searle, 'Ingulf and the *Historia Croylandensis*,' Cambridge Antiquarian Society *Transactions* XXVII (1894).

[24] Felix, p. 7.

the version by Petrus Blesensis, as we shall see, yet the chronicler has not used it, and it hardly seems likely that he would have made this subtle attempt at verisimilitude amid the many anachronisms and other blunders which mark the rest of his text. On the other hand, there is a smattering of passages from Ordericus in the "Ingulph" which would be hard to explain if the work were genuine throughout, for Ordericus' version was made for the abbot who succeeded upon the death of Ingulph. So we find in the chronicle:

> Quem, ut sanctus Dei audivit, blande consolatus est, et velut divini oraculi interpres, que ventura essent sibi ex ordine propalavit, promittendo ei generis sui dominationem, inimicorum conculcatioenm, et populorum principatum...

Which derives from Felix's

> ...vir Dei, velut divini oraculi interpres, pandere quae ventura essent sibi, ex ordine coepit dicens:
> ... [Dominus] tribuit tibi dominationem gentis tuae et posuit te principem populorum, et cervices inimicorum tuorum subtus calcaneum tuum rediget...

and Ordericus'

> Quem beatus Guthlacus blande consolatus est, eique per Spiritum Dei promisit dominationem gentis suae et principatum populorum et conculcationem inimicorum...[25].

There is no way of knowing whether Ordericus used a text of Ingulph, or available to Ingulph, or whether an imposter used Ordericus as well as Felix. If the Ingulph passage is the original then some of the chronicle which has been branded a forgery may in fact be genuine. If, on the other hand, the Ordericus passage came first, the use of Felix and the epitome by the chronicler indicated some dissatisfaction with them both, and it was precisely this dissatisfaction which must in large measure have given rise to the new version by Petrus Blesensis around the year 1200. In any case, the statement of Liebermann, who leads the sceptics of the chronicle's authenticity, that Felix was the source of the passages concerning Guthlac's life, is partially in error, and the error is one which has important bearing on the question of the attribution of the chronicle.[26]

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[25] Birch, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Felix, p. 148; *PL* 188, cols. 360-1.

[26] F. Liebermann, 'Über ostenglische Geschichtsquellen des 12., 13., 14. Jahrhunderts,' *Neues Archiv* XVIII (1892) pp. 248-67. In the introduction to his edition, Birch offered one explanation of the mixed text of spurious and genuine elements. He noted the medieval practice of copying lost or destroyed documents from memory, and that under these circumstances interpolations to bring the document up to date might be made in good faith. The presence of the Ordericus material in the sole extant MS of Ingulph — a late one - - might be accounted for in this way.

Some time after the new version by Petrus, Matthew Paris included his own epitome of Felix in the *Chronica Majora*, and subsequently in the *Flores Historiarum*. The date of this epitome cannot be far from 1240-1245.[27] Matthew, working with the materials available to him at St. Albans, may not have known that the text by Felix had been superseded, and the version by Ordericus never, it seems, had much popularity. So he relied on Felix to provide him with the data he needed for the annual for the year 714, traditional date of Guthlac's death. Matthew often condensed and simplified his source in a straightforward way:

> Hoc audito, vir Dei hunc sibi locum postulat indicari; at ille scafilam accipiens piscatoriam sanctum Dei virum ad locum usque perduxit.

He made one sentence out of Felix's two:

> Quo audito, vir beatae recordationis Guthlac illum locum monstrari sibi a narrante efflagitabat. Ipse enim imperiis viri annuens, arrepta piscatoria scafula, per invia lustra inter atrae paludis margines Christo viatore ad praedictum locum usque pervenit...[28]

But at other times the condensation involved a change in the original to some extent. Where Felix says that Guthlac was abstemious to the point of existing on barley bread and muddy water, of which he partook only after sunset, Matthew has

> Abstinentia tanta in eo fuit, ut post solis occasum sola panis hordeacei particula et aquae poculo uteretur.[29]

Matthew's "post solis occasum" is inclusive, not exclusive, so that it appears that Guthlac only practiced his bread-and-water penance in the hours of darkness, nourishing himself like any other mortal during the day.

Matthew was interested in suggesting the character of Guthlac's life, rather than the history of it, so many of the examples of the saint's fortitude and holiness are omitted, for which he excused himself:

> Hujus sancti viri virtutes si omnes vellem explicare verbis, ita esset ac si maris arenam inciperem numerare...

In particular, he omits the death scenes, as well as the attack by wild animals, the abbot and his two misbehaving clerks, and the ordination of Guthlac. Considering Matthew's concern for his order, it is strange that he did not give more than a few words to Guthlac's life in the Benedictine monastery at Ripon, which is treated at length in Felix. He was equally brief about the return to the monastery, Felix's version of which was quoted above. Matthew says only

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[27] Rolls Series, 1872, I, pp. 324ff. For the date, see Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge 1958) pp. 59-60.

[28] Matthew, p. 325; Felix, p. 88.

[29] Matthew, pp. 325-6; Felix, p. 94.

> ...igitur aliquandiu ibi conversatus ad sodales rediit, ex quibus duobus secum pueris acceptis ad insulam iterum repedavit...[30]

Only two words of this are to be found in Felix, and Matthew's paraphrase omits the elaborate references to time lapse, the sentimental attitude toward the cloister, and the belle-lettristic style. His syntax and vocabulary were those of a working chronicler, and he did little to suggest character, motivation or background. But he had some contributions, as *verax historicus*, to make: he specified for example that Guthlac made his hermitage in "orientalem Merciorum," where Felix had only "meditullaneis Britanniae."

All the epitomes of and borrowings from Felix failed, however, to make his self-conscious prose attractive, and thus useful, to the twelfth and later centuries. His achievement lay too much in his rhetoric, and the rhetoric was expressive too often only of itself. The intellectual atmosphere of the late twelfth century demanded a whole recasting of the legend if it were to remain meaningful, for the simplifications of Ordericus and Matthew left little to engage the attention when the splendid language was gone. The epitome by Petrus Blesensis is highly literary in style, but the style is based on a new thinking-through of the material of Felix.

Petrus wrote his epitome at the request of the abbot of Croyland Henry Longchamp, about 1200.[31] In his introduction, Petrus says that he is doing so lest time obscure the deeds of Guthlac, and so that the saint may receive his due glory and be an example to the faithful. These motives repeat those expressed by Felix in his introduction, the biographical need, and those adduced by Ordericus, the religious need. Of his materials he says

> Veteris autem hystorie superflua resecans, et obscura dilucidans, nequaquam a tenore ueritatis excessi, nec noui aliquid nisi quod publice edificationis exigencia dictabat apposui

which echoes in "obscura dilucidans" the phrase of Ordericus. Unlike Ordericus, he did not mention his source by name. Unlike Felix, he elaborated in his introduction the theological concepts, such as the spiritual combat, implicit in Guthlac's life.[32]

Early in his work, Petrus showed his intention of making of his material what he would. He summarized the incident in which at Guthlac's birth a hand appeared from the sky and left the sign of the cross on the door of his home, and added

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[30] Matthew, p. 325.

[31] Ed. Carl Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie* (Oxford 1901) II, pp. 698-719. See also Josaih Cox Russell, 'Literature at Croyland Abbey under Henry Longchamp (1191-1237),' *Colorado College Publications, General Series* 148 (1927) pp. 39-49.

[32] Petrus, pp. 698-9; Felix, pp. 60-2.

> Que signaculo crucis ostium muniens, felici prefigurabat auspicio quod ille ad ortum procederet qui finali perseuerancia Christi crucem in suo corpore circumferet.

Felix explained the episode

> Nam pius omnipotens, futurorum praescius, cui omnia praesentia persistunt, sigillum manifestandi militis sui internae memorationis indicium praemisit.[33]

Petrus saw a pattern of meaning in everything; he punned on Guthlac's name ("belli munus" in Latin, Felix had it, although Petrus made it "belli donum" or "bonum donum") with "muniens," and he understood the signing of the door as a specific spiritual intimation. The shape of the meanings was implicit for Petrus in the shape of the episode; he did not, as Felix had done, simply generalize about the link between one and the other.

Of Felix's description of Guthlac's youth, Petrus makes

> Proficiebat puer etate, et gracia apud deum et homines. Erat autem facie serenissimus: sic enim deus uultum pueri quadam hilaritate fauorabili, quodam angelico placore serenauerat, ita dicta et facta illius quodam celesti dono gratificauerat, ut corda hominum solo conspectu sibi conciliaret in graciam et fauorem.[34]

Felix listed all of Guthlac's virtues, expatiated on none of them; whereas Petrus named one, and followed out its implications. These implications often refer back to a Scriptural text. Felix said that when he began his life as a hermit, Guthlac rejected linen and wool, and wore only animal skins; at the same time, as we have seen, he began his diet of barley bread and muddy water. Petrus repeated all this and noted that Guthlac chose his rude costume because our first parents were similarly dressed when, like him, they became exiles, and in connection with his diet cited the texts "non est regnum dei esca et potus," "non enim in solo pane uiuit homo" and "operari non cibum qui perit." The abstemious diet, Petrus added, was taken "adiecto condimento diuini amoris." Later, St. Bartholomew appears to Guthlac to comfort him in tribulation; Felix said "praeceptis spiritalibus confortare coepit," but Petrus appended the conversation itself, largely made up of snatches of Scripture.[35]

Petrus' cool, systematic approach failed him only when he was confronted with the disorderly conduct of the flesh, of which the misbehavior of the abbot's clerks provides one example. Felix simply said that they set about "in delicatis viduae fulcris inebriari," but the phrase in Petrus becomes

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[33] Petrus, p. 699; Felix, p. 74.

[34] Felix, p. 78; Petrus, p. 700.

[35] Felix, pp. 94-6; Petrus, pp. 703-4.

> ebrietati et crapule, cubilibus quoque et impudiciciis, ceterisque extraordinariis uoluptatibus corporis impudenter et dampnabiliter indulgere.[36]

Needless to say, Guthlac cannot smile in reporting this to the abbot.

Petrus did not add any narrative material to that in Felix, but he added enough commentary to transform the reader's impression of the work. Thus he noted that the saint's birth and death were alike marked by fiery heavenly displays. Felix related the phenomena, but he did not point out the connection. Then Petrus said that Guthlac "obdormiuit in Christo," and went on to elaborate the image of death as a sleep.[37] This explicit concern with echoes of Scriptural and early church precedents, and the constant reference to the meaning of the narrative, give Petrus' epitome an essential intricacy, for all the simplification of the Latin, which exceeds the surface complexity which Felix's ornate language lends his basically straightforward story.

Like Felix's, Petrus' work had its textual followers, so that the Latin tradition of the Guthlac legend may usefully be divided into those based on the earlier work and those which adopt the text of Petrus. Of the latter, one of the first must have been Alexander of Ashby, whose *Vita Sancti Bertellini*[38] made considerable use of material in Petrus—Bertellin, elsewhere called Beccelm, was Guthlac's amanuensis. The version available is the one found in John of Tynemouth's *Nova Legenda Anglie*. John was an abbreviator of his sources, but he took few liberties beyond this, and the text probably differs more in length than in form from Alexander's version as it appears in his collection.

Alexander, of course, had in turn been an abbreviator of his source, Petrus; thus many of the incidents which do not mention Bertellin's relationship with Guthlac are left out. But he did include some which do not — the birth of Guthlac, for example — and he made one notable omission from the story of the relationship, that of Bertellin's attempt on the hermit's life. In general, however, it was his purpose to outline the hermit's biography in order to fix the role of Bertellin in it, and so he condensed from Petrus only the narrative information he found there; the digressive reflections are completely omitted. Very little remains that is characteristically Petrus', as a result, even though Alexander showed the utmost respect for his language, altering scarcely a word of those passages he chose to include in his work. But Alexander, like Ingulph, Matthew Paris and John of Wallingford, used his source to serve a purpose other than the perpetuation of the Guthlac legend itself. His work, then, is not part of the transmission of the legend in the way that Ordericus' or Petrus' versions were.

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[36] Felix, p. 134; Petrus, p. 711.

[37] Felix, p. 158; Petrus, p. 716.

[38] Ed. Horstmann, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 162-7.

Alexander missed the most important quality of Petrus' revision, the sense of the meaning which hovered behind the incident and gave it form. This vision of Petrus', as useful as it was in adapting the old legend to the intellectual needs of the twelfth century, found its ultimate medium in the long metrical life of St. Guthlac by Henry of Avranches.[39] Henry wrote it about 1224, at the request of Abbot Henry Longchamp, for whom Petrus had also written his epitome. It is, in scope and intent, and in some ways in execution, an epic poem, and in any case it is rarely anything less than an outstanding example of a medieval poetic adaptation of conventional material.

Henry began his poem with an invocation, first to his Muse, then to his subject:

> Omnimodos quanta uirtute subegerit hostes
> Guthlaci robusta manus, quo marte tirannos
> Expulerit, quorum fuerat Croylandia sedes,
> Musa refer; celebremque uiri depinge uigorem.
> Maxime monstrorum domitor, qui laude suprema
> Dignus, Alexandri fuscas et Cesaris actus
> Et licite potes Herculeos ridere trihumphos,
> Te, Guthlace, meo precor aspirare labori.[40]

When Henry came to the passage, noted above, in which Petrus discussed the young saint's growing grace, he treated it thus:

> Proficit in puero cum tempore gratia, cuius
> Interiora prius formans natura, cor omni
> Dote uenustauit, moresque poliuit ad unguem.
> Sic nitet interius, ne uero sit alter in ore,
> Ne status interior se palliet exteriore,
> Angelico facies nitet illustrata decore,
> Visu sollicitans oculos, et corda fauore.[41]

Henry developed the notion of the interior and exterior forms of grace considerably past the statement of it made by Petrus, who in turn had made the first explicit mention of the concept, only implied in Felix. The interior form of the passage has shaped the poetry as well: the play on the vocabulary of human love in "cor omni/ Dote uenustauit," the balanced phrases of the last two lines, the sonorous rhymes of the last four. The rhyme is rare in the poem, but the workmanlike use of the hexameter line and the purposeful play on words were, like the classicism of his invocation, part of Henry's habitual technique.

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[39] Ed. in my 'The Middle English and Latin Poems of St. Guhtlac,' unpublished Princeton University dissertation, 1954, hereafter "Diss." See also the references in Felix, p. 24; Paul Grosjean, 'Henrici Abricensis Carmina Hagiographica,' *Analecta Bollandiana* XLIII (1925) pp. 96-114, and 'Magister Henricus de Abrincis Archipoeta,' *Studies* XVII (1928) pp. 295-308; and F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1957) II, pp. 296, 343-5.

[40] Diss., p. 38.

[41] Diss., pp. 40-1.

One of the most commanding passages in Felix is his description of the fenland:

> Est in meditullaneis Brittanniae partibus inmensae magnitudinis aterrima palus, quae, a Grontae fluminis ripis incipiens, haud procul a castello quem dicunt nomine Gronte, nunc stagnis, nunc flactris, interdum nigris fusi vaporis laticibus, necnon et crebris insularum nemorumque intervenientibus flexuosis rivigarum anfractibus, ab austro in aquilonem mare tenus longissimo tractu protenditur.

Petrus altered and shortened this passage rather less than was his usual practice:

> Est in Britannia spaciose magnitudinis palus, que a Gronte flumine incipiens, diuersis nemoribus, stagnis, insulis et carectis, uariisque fluuialium uiarum flexuosis anfractibus distincta, ab austro protenditur et in aquilone circa maris confinia tractu longissimo limitatur.

Henry made a few cuts of his own, and some additions as well:

> Est apud Angligenas a Gronta flumine longo
> Orbe, per amfractus stagnosos et fluuiales
> Circumfusa palus, orientalisque propinqua
> Litoribus pelagi. Sese distendit ab austro
> In longum uersus aquilonem, gurgite tetro,
> Morbosos pisces uegetans, et arundine densa,
> Ventorum strepitus quasi quedam uerba susurrans.[42]

For the first four and a half lines this is all but a straight versification of Petrus, but the remaining two and a half, perhaps the most effective of the group, are entirely the imaginative contribution of Henry. Even though the marginal gloss on this passage is "Topographia," Henry's addition was most telling precisely because it abandoned the topographical delineation of Felix and Petrus, and confronted the reader with stirring images of corrupt nature: the horrible fish, the howl of the wind as though whispering "certain words." This image of fallen creation is of first importance because Guthlac's exile is, as Petrus pointed out (in words which Henry preserved), a figure of the exile of our first parents, and ultimately of all humanity.

Regarding Guthlac's abstemiousness, Henry followed Petrus closely, although one phrase, "vix sibi vitam / Pane siligineo sustentat et amne palustri,"[43] reveals a change. The wheaten bread of Henry's version and the barley of Petrus' and Felix's had opposite values in terms of traditional medieval Scriptural exegesis. That of barley was the unprofitable surface, the Old Law, the literal meaning, in all probability less attractive to Henry than the associations of wheat, the nourishing kernel of truth.[44] If such was the reason for the change, it shows another step away from the narrative interest toward the ethical, for Henry was altering his received material to reinforce the spiritual biography he was writing. He gives an example, in the same passage, of his sometimes lamentable taste for "hard" words, that of "amne" for "aqua".

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[42] Felix, p. 86; Petrus, p. 703; Diss., p. 48.

This fondness for bookish vocabulary is part of Henry's larger fault, a general love of prolixity and sententiousness, and a chance to indulge it is inherent in most of Petrus' reflective passages. Henry found even greater opportunities in the addresses of one character to another: St. Bartholomew to Guthlac, Guthlac to Bertellin, Guthlac to the demons. It was Petrus who introduced the first of these into the legend; Felix had only mentioned that Bartholomew spoke consoling words to his protégé. Henry uses Petrus' monologue as a point of departure, but almost all of this part of the speech is his own:

> Que tua iam, fili, mouet inconstantia mentem?
> Quo iam digrederis, tua quo iam uota uacillant?
> Tu ne manum mittens ad fortia, tu ne professus
> Grandia? Retrorsum conuerteris impete primo;
> Non uis bellari, vis ergo uincere. Bellum
> Si nullum preeat, victoria nulla sequetur,
> Sed nichil est medium; vincis uel vinceris. Ecce
> Campus, et ecce lepus. Operare uiriliter ergo,
> Et confortetur animus tuus...[45]

Henry did not entirely abandon Petrus' Scriptural sources, but there is a new immediacy here, and "Ecce / Campus, et ecce lepus" is certainly as colloquial a phrase as a spiritual tutor can reasonably be expected to employ. Petrus' monologue was theologically accurate, but Henry visualized the situation in terms more congruent with a human incident. It cannot be said that the passage is dramatic, but it has rhetorical coherency.

Henry made his contribution to the list of demonic deformities as well:

> Et quibus est crinis quasi seta, caput quasi truncus,
> Frons quasi cera, Gena quasi pix, oculus quasi carbo,
> Os quasi sporta, labra quasi plumbum, dens quasi buxus.[46]

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[43] Diss., p. 50.

[44] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo*, *PL* 111, cols. 505-6.

[45] Diss., p. 52.

[46] Diss., pp. 55-6. There is a minor problem here: at least four of Henry's epithets ("genibus nodatis," "cruribus vncis," "Plantis auersis," "talisque tumentibus") are not in the only extant text of Petrus, but are in Felix (Petrus, p. 705; Felix, p. 102). This introduces the possibility that Henry made occasional reference to Felix, and at least once more, in a

The idea of comparison in the description of the demons is all Henry's; Felix and Petrus used conventional noun-adjective groups. Moreover, that to which the member is compared is a familiar thing: wax, pitch, charcoal.

Et sunt
Non nulli quibus est non horrida forma, sed ipse
Horror; cum non sint scelerati, sed scelus ipsum,
Et quorum faciem nec sensus ferre uidentis,
Nec uox effari, nec mens comprendere possit.
Nam sic ex toto deformes sunt, ut eorum
Respectu, reputes predictos esse decoros.[47]

This is not so sensuous; quite the contrary, but when he has sated the reader with a vision of horror, Henry is ready to expose him to that greater horror which is invisible. This original passage communicates the fearfulness and the power of Guthlac's adversaries, and without a sense of this, his spiritual accomplishment is a good deal less meaningful.

Henry quoted the saint's address to the disguised fiends which, though almost a hundred lines in length, had no precedent in earlier accounts.[48] The address to Satan, which is present in the earlier versions, is nevertheless a considerable advance in sophistication of form over Petrus and Felix:

Teque, tenebrarum princeps, O Lucifer, immo
Hespere ; nonne pudet, O lucis apostata fili?
Cur caput in lucem non audes promere? Cur in
Insidiis quasi latro sedes? Est eccine sedes
Quam tu ponis apud aquilonem, quam paradysi
Ausus eras in deliciis...[49]

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similar list, he uses a phrase ("coruus crocitat," Diss., p. 69) not in Petrus, but in Felix (Petrus, p. 708; Felix, p. 114). These small points, on the other hand, may have been in the version of Petrus which Henry used, but have escaped the copyist of the extant manuscript. There are, as well, passages in Felix which Petrus omitted and which Henry, had he had access to them, would hardly have ignored; such is the episode in Felix's ch. xxvii, in which Guthlac puts on the spiritual armor.

[47] Diss., p. 56.

[48] Apart from the formal contributions which Henry made in the way of speeches, digressions and interpretive asides, he made two major thematic additions. One of these is appended on to the incident in which the saint has a vision of Hell (cf. Felix, p. 23). In the other, Satan takes the form of Guthlac's anchorite sister, Pega, to tempt him to break his vows. When Pega herself appears, Guthlac says that they must never again meet in this life, lest the devil have further opportunity to employ this disguise (Diss., pp. 66-8). The incident is mentioned in no other document in the legend, but an echo may be found in Henry's source, Petrus. As Guthlac lies dying, he directs Bertellin to report his death to Pega, "cuius aspectum semper declinauerat, quia diu, immo eternaliter eam in gloria uidere prenouerat" (Petrus, p. 715). Henry versified Petrus' words, "omittere noli/ Quin iubeas ex parte mea, saluere sororem/ Immo ualere Pegam, cui me suprema uidendum/ Fata negant, in luce tamen meliore uidebit."

[49] Felix, pp. 114-5; Petrus, p. 708; Diss., p. 74.

It is also more interesting reading; the play on "lux" in the first three lines bears the thought along, "insidiis" balancing "deliciis." These two speeches occupy some 145 lines of a poem just over 1600 lines long, or nearly a tenth of the whole, and they illustrate both Henry's rhetorical skill and his weakness for employing it in extended monologues.

His narrative sense was, however, not completely undeveloped. In the incident of the abbot's two clerks,

> A quo permissi sed ad inpermissa recedunt,
> Ingressique domum uidue. Post ebrietatem
> Indulgent ueneri solaminibusque nefandis.
> Securi peccant, scelus occultare patrantes ;
> Sed nichil occultum quod non retegatur, et idem
> Qui metuebatur presens, fit conscius absens.[50]

Here is the familiar word-play, implying as usual conceptual relationships. Unlike Petrus and Felix, Henry did not find it important that the excesses took place before the third hour, but unlike them as well, he was careful to specify that the drinking came before the sexual indulgence. Henry's verbal refinements seem to grow out of a clear mental image of the story he told rather than, as might have been the case, obscuring such an image. Sometimes these refinements were no less overdone than those of Felix, as when the latter's "transactis... bis senis mensium orbibus" became Henry's "Quatuor in tredecim migrarant tempora menses."[51] At other times the language seems to reach its highest employment:

> Mors igitur per quam celestia sic adeuntur,
> Non mors, sed portus est mortis, portaque uite.
> Sic sanctus iacet et moritur, miroque tenore
> Stat quamuis iaceat, uiuit quamuis moriatur.
> Sub tellure iacet, supra celum stat, et idem
> Est utrobique. Sed hic nec homo nec spiritus ; illic,
> Spiritus humanus homo spiritualis habetur.
> Hic iacet, et stabit ; ibi stat, nunquamque iacebit.
> Hic moriens uiuet ; ibi uiuens, non morietur.
> Stat, uigilat, uiuitque ; iacet, dormit, moriturque.
> Stans, uigilans, uiuens, semper stabit, uigilabit,
> Viuet. Qui uero moritur, dormitque iacetque,
> Cessabit quandoque mori, dormire, iacere,

he wrote of the saint's approaching death.[52]

Felix wrote the spiritual biography according to the hagiographical models of his day, and his followers never went far beyond mending his lanauage for their own times. Petrus recast the legend, seeking in it the relevance of the tale in terms of a systematic theology. Poet Henry, using Petrus, never failed at least to versify him interestingly; at most, as in the passage above, the meaning which Petrus had found in Felix's narrative moulds the language, and as meaning grows out of incident, form grows out of meaning. Henry, the last to make a new Latin version of the legend, was in a real sense the only professional author, the only one who made his livelihood by his belle-lettristic efforts. Despite his tendency to overwrite, Henry's feel for his subject, his ability to depict a situation with vivid immediacy and his often splendid handling of Latin as a poetic medium render this work, the last in the history of the transmission of the legend in Latin, the culmination of the textual history as well.

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[50] Diss., p. 82.
[51] Felix, p. 160; Diss., p. 100.
[52] Diss., p. 98.

An Old French Poetic Version of the Life And Miracles of Saint Magloire
(Part II)

ALEX. J. DENOMY, C. S. B.†

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY J. BRÜCKMANN

THE text which is here edited is the last half of the last scholarly work of the late Father Alexander J. Denomy, C.S.B. The first half of this text has already appeared in a previous issue of this publication;[1] this completes the edition of the whole Old French verse life of St. Magloire written by Geoffroy des Nés in 1319. The manuscript is extant in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5122.

The text as it appears here represents the edition as Fr. Denomy had completed it, without notable alterations. Unfortunately, however, the footnotes which Fr. Denomy left do not go beyond line 3404. The notes which have been supplied for the rest of the poem are designed only to indicate emendations of the manuscript reading of the poem, significant deviations of the poem from its Latin model or from the Old French prose text, and to identify historical characters.

This second half of the poem is largely concerned with the various translations of the relics of St. Magloire. The relics were translated three times: first, in the ninth century, from Sark to Lehon; then in the tenth century, from Lehon to Paris; and finally, in the fourteenth century, from the old to a new reliquary. Since the account of the first translation in the poem is essentially taken from the Latin *Vita*, the poem contributes nothing new to the already available information. For the second translation, too, the poet relied on the account now published by Mabillon,[2] an account, which, unfortunately, does not seem to be very trustworthy. For the third translation of the relics (that of 1318), however, Geoffroy des Nés' description seems to be not only the most explicit but also the most reliable account.

The longer Latin *Vita* appears to be the product of several writers, begun before the theft of the relics from Sark and finished after the translation to Paris.

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[1] Alexander J. Denomy, C. S. B., 'An Old French Poetic Version of the Life and Miracles of Saint Magloire,' *Mediaeval Studies*, XIX (1957) 251-312.

[2] Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, III, 719-720.

In the second half of the sixth century there was a monastery on the banks of the Rance founded by St. Sulin, a disciple of St. Samson and, like St. Magloire, a bishop of Dol. Sulin also had a "villa" on the Island of Sark, where Magloire had founded his monastery, while Magloire possessed a "villa" on the mainland near Sulin's foundation. In commemoration of the miraculous escape of a cook in Sulin's monastery from the attack of a huge fish through the intercession of St. Magloire, the two saints exchanged their villas. Magloire, however, attached one condition to the exchange: if after his death his body was brought to the Continent from Sark, Magloire's continental villa would revert to the monastery founded by him. When the first part of the *Vita* was written, this agreement "adhuc inviolabilis permansit".[3] Consequently the body had not yet left the Island when this account was written. Subsequently, however, we read of the theft of the relics and their arrival in Lehon in the reign of Nomenoë, King of Bretagne (d. 851); evidently another writer had continued the *Vita*. That the first writer could not have written much before 851 can be surmised from his reference to the See of Dol as an archbishopric, a rank to which Nomenoë raised Dol only in 848.[4]

The date of the second translation has given rise to a controversy which has become far too extensive to be reviewed here in detail. There had existed a fairly general consensus of opinion amongst scholars like Gerard Dubois, Mabillon, the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* and the Abbé Lebeuf that the reason for the flight of the clergy from Armorica was an invasion of Danes who had been called in 961-2 by Richard I, Duke of Normandy, to help him in his well-known war against Thibaud le Tricheur, Count of Chartres, and King Lothaire (961-966).[5] The foundation of the Abbey of St. Magloire in Paris would consequently have occurred around 965 while Hugh Capet was Duke of France. The Bollandist Fr. C. de Smedt, however, has attempted to show that the Abbey was founded not by Hugh Capet, but by his father, Hugh the Great, and probably around 923.[6] This theory rests essentially on the evidence of Helgald's *Epitoma vitae Rotberti regis*,[7] and on an alleged charter by Lothaire and Louis V confirming, among other things, a gift from Hugh the Great to the Abbey.[8] It is further supported by what we know of the translation of the relics of St. Guenaud; the *Translatio Sancti Maglorii* is emphatic in stating that the relics of both Guenaud and Magloire arrived in Paris at the same time, and we know that Guenaud's body must have arrived in Paris *ca.* 925 rather than *ca.* 962-6. Arthur de la Borderie supports Fr. de Smedt in the view that the Abbey owes its foundations to Hugh the Great, probably in 950.[9] The cause of the exodus of the bodies from Brittany would then no longer be the Norman War of 961-966, a war which affected not Brittany but Normandy and Chartres; the cause lies in the occupation and ferocious destruction of Brittany by Norman pirates in 919-920, described by Flodoard.[10]

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[3] Lat. 162a.

[4] Cf.: Arthur de la Borderie, *Miracles de S. Magloire et fondation du Monastère de Lehon* (Rennes 1891) 71-3 (294-7); also F. Beda Plaine, 'S. Maglorii Dolensis Episcopi prima translatio,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, VIII (1889) 371.

[5] *Cf.*: Ferdinand Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, 346-57.

[6] *Acta Sanctorum*, November, I, 669-73.

[7] *Recueil des Historiens de France*, X, 104.

[8] Louis Halphen, *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V*, No. LXV, 157; Fr. de Smedt did not recognize this document as a subsequent forgery.

René Merlet, on the other hand, defends the thesis that it was Hugh Capet who received the monks from Armorica and founded the Abbey.[11] He assigns the date 960 to the exodus, the year of the first hostilities of the Norman War. The foundation of the Abbey would consequently have taken place *ca.* 962. Although he recognizes the considerable dependence of the *Translatio Sancti Maglorii* on Hugh of Fleury, he does not seem to consider the historical account of the *Translatio* vitiated by these "subsequent interpolations".[12]

Ferdinand Lot has also examined the problem and placed the date of the translation first around 959,[13] and subsequently, in a re-examination of the question, around 925.[14] At first he understood the *Translatio* to have grouped together deceptively two entirely different events: the flight of the clergy of Dol and Bayeux with the relics of St. Guenaud around 920-5, and that of the clergy of Aleth and Lehon with the relics of St. Magloire. But his return to the date of 920-5 for both translations completely rejects the *Translatio,* as a twelfth-century document produced by some monk of St. Magloire "qui n'avait sous les yeux qu'une liste des reliques sans aucune note chronologique... De là une suite de bévues que nous avons eu le tort de ne pas rejeter entièrement."[15]

Although the exact date of this second translation is still *sub lite,* there seems to be no doubt that at some time in the tenth century the relics of St. Magloire arrived in Paris and were placed in the Church of St. Barthelemi, the name of which was changed to St. Magloire. There the Abbey of St. Magloire was founded and remained until the twelfth century. About 1138 the Abbey was transferred from the Cité to the rue Saint-Denys, and the old Church of St. Barthelemi regained its name.

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[9] Arthur de la Borderie, *Miracles de S. Magloire et fondation du monastère de Lehon,* 102-114 (326-338).

[10] *M. G. H., SS.,* III, 368.

[11] René Merlet, 'Les Origines du Monastère de Saint Magloire de Paris,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* LVI (1895) 237-73.

[12] Cf. e. g: Hugh of Fleury, 'Modernorum Regum Francorum Actus,' *M. G. H., SS.* IX, 378, "Cooperuerunt itaque Dani superficiem terrae sicut locustae..."

[13] Ferdinand Lot, 'Date de l'exode des corps saints hors de Bretagne,' *Annales de Bretagne,* XV (November 1899) 60-76.

[14] Ferdinand Lot, *Mélanges d'histoire bretonne,* Paris 1907, 188-99.

[15] *Ibid.,* 191, n. 1.

The last translation of the relics mentioned in the poem is that of 9 July 1318. Geoffroy des Nés himself was present at the celebration and has thus been able to give us a good eye-witness account, including a list of all the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries in attendance. This last part, starting with line 5201, represents the poet's own addition to the history of the relics of St. Magloire and brought the account up to date.

Later, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Abbey of St. Magloire emigrated from the rue Saint-Denys to the faubourg Saint-Jacques (near Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas) and there became a seminary until the Revolution.[16]

Throughout the Middle Ages and down to the present St. Magloire has been venerated as the Apostle of the Isles of the Cotentin and the special protector of the sea people. On the Island of Sark his cult survives to our own day.[17]

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[16] Cf.: Baillet, *Vies de Saints* (1739) VII, 372-373.

[17] Cf.: De Gerville, *Recherches sur les îles du Cotentin, et sur la mission de Saint Magloire*, Valognes 1846.

Coment li anges anonça le trespassement monseigneur saint Magloire et coment il esconmigna et prist le sacrement de la main de l'ange.

Aprés les vertuz et loenges
2620 De Sarge, [l]es païs estranges
D'entour la mer enlumina
Clerement con soleil qui n'a
Tache, mes luit perfaitement.
2624 Il sot devant mout longuement
Le jour qu'a soi Dieu l'apela,
Car son ange li revela;
fol. 57r Prist en l'ange qui le conforte

2620 Ms.: *es*. Correct to *[l]es* to afford a direct object of *enlumina* of 2621; to accord with the Latin: "Postquam sanctus Maglorius... non solum Sargiam sed et terras et provincias... illuminasset" (68c). (O. Fr. pr. same - 47 d.)

2626 The O. Fr. pr. has a lacuna here to 2759. There is no break in the pagination of the manuscript.

2627 *Prist en l'ange* is an enigma. There may be a lacuna here, although the rime seems to indicate not. The Latin has a passage about a column in length that describes how the angel appeared on the Vigil of Easter to the Saint as he spent the night watching and told the Saint to continue his manner of life and that God had been pleased to lay up for him a reward in His celestial kingdom. The Saint is torn by happiness at the promise and by doubt as to the authenticity of the vision and prays the longer. The angel again appears and thrice repeats that he is truly a messenger of God, that he is not to doubt, that soon he will have

2628 Et tel responsse li raporte:
"Se de monseigneur Jhesucrist
Es envoiéz, selonc l'escript
Que tu affermes, je te prie
2632 Tes granz beneiçons n'oublie,
Mes ainçois que d'avec moi isses,
Q'u non de li me beneisses."
Lors respondi l'ange humblement:
2636 "Magloire, conment bonement
Te donrai benediction
Qui es par droite election!
Et seras beneiz sans doute
2640 De cil qui beneiçon toute
Donne a touz et touz saintefie;
Magloire, cilz te beneie!"
Et lors entr'eus se saluerent
2644 Et beneiçons s'entredonnerent;
Et l'ange avec tres grant lumiere
U ciel s'en retourna arriere.
Et toute la nuit saint Magloire
2648 Veilla priant en l'oratoire,
Si con conmencié ot a faire;
Du moustier ne se vost retraire.

fol. 57*v* Aprés ceste chose pasee,
2652 Asséz briement fu la journee
Que l'ange, dont j'ai fait memoire,
Apparut arriers saint Magloire
Et dit: "Magloire, doute n'aiez!
2656 De ton trespasser seur saiez.
Et conbien que li marié
Soient u ciel glorefié
En corone de fruit trentiesme,
2660 Et li chaste du soixantieme
Pour ce qu'il ont double merite,
Tu, qui en cors et esperite
As vescu en virginité,
2664 Le fruit centiesme en verité
Recevras en la compaignie
Des vierges. Ce te senefie."
Et quant saint Magloire ce voit
2668 Que briement trespasser devoit,
Puis que de certain l'a seu,

finished his course in victory over Satan and that he will be received among the heavenly hosts. It is at this point that the poem continues: "Tunc sanctus Maglorius omni dubietate exutus, angelico famine solidatus, respondet dicens: Si a Domino nostro...", etc.

2644 Hypermetric, unless *beneiçons* which ordinarily has value for hiatus *e*. Cf. 2640.

2657-64 Perhaps based on *Mark* IV, 8: "Et dabat fructum ascendentem, et crescentem, et afferebat unum triginta, unum sexaginta, et unum centum."

Le cors Jhesucrist receu
De l'ange a tout oisiblement;
Ce dit l'estoire qui ne ment.
Des lors, de son trespassement
Penssa cuisançonneusement;
fol. 58*r* Et se la cause necessaire
N'estoit ou profitable a faire,
De l'eglise ne ça ne la
Jusqu'au jour que Diex l'apela
Ne parti, ainçois en sa bouche
Repetoit ce que David touche
U sautier la ou il veut dire:
"Une chose de nostre Sire
Requerré, et c'est que je habite
En la meson de Dieu eslite
U ciel touz les jourz de ma vie;
Et la me tenz et la me fie."

Quant son courz ot fait en ce monde
Ou il demena vie monde,
A la devine majesté
Plust, en cui servise ot esté
De son premier conmancement,
Qu'en amonestant doucement
Ses freres, "A Dieu vous conmant"
Dist leur a. C'est la fin conment
De ce siecle a Dieu trespassa,
Dont le cors le monde en chasse a
Et l'ame Jhesucrist en gloire.
Et trespassa cilz saint Magloire
fol. 58*v* U vintquatrein jour d'octembre —
C'est es kalendes de novembre
Trestout droit u nuefvieme jour;
Adonc prist u ciel son sejour
Cilz dont la mort fu precieuse,
Duquel l'oroison glorieuse
Devant Dieu est en sa presence
De noz maus nous face indulgence:
Indulgence tele nous face
Que nous voions Dieu en sa face,

2671 *oisiblement*; *oi* = *ui* = *vi*. Lat. *visibiliter* (69a).

2674 *cuisançonneusement* — anxiously, apprehensively. Lat. *valde sollicitus*.

2682-85 Cf. *Ps.* XXVI, 4: "Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitae meae."

2699 Lacks one syllable. *vintquatrein* = *vintquatrieme*.

2705 *est*= *et*? Transl.: Whose glorious prayer, before God and in His presence, may accord indulgence of our sins. Lat.: "Cujus intercessio gloriosa nobis obtineat veniam peccatorum" (69a).

2708-12 Annominatio introduced by *face* 2707. Transl.: May he accord us such forgiveness that we may see God face to face (in His face). In such guise and in such wise therefore we accomplish such works here (below) that we be fastened with God for whom we are fashioned.

De tel guise et de tel façon
Tiez oevres dont ici façon
Qu'avec Dieu soions façonnez
A cui nous somes façonnez.

Coment li paien violerent le serkeu monseigneur saint Magloire et coment il avuglerent.

Puis que jusques ci nous avons,
Si rudement que nous savons,
Dit les miracles et les signes
Lesquiex li glorieus et dignes
fol. 59*r* Saint Magloire fist en ce monde,
Uquel conme une estoille monde
Est clere et reluit clerement,
Ceus qui aprés son trespassement
Fist, de ceus me veil entremetre
Et avecques les autres metre.

Aprés donc ce que saint Magloire,
Con fust champion, ot victoire
[D]e li anemi et diable,
Et que Dieu l'ot trait a sa table
Et ou celestiau païs,
Sarge et le leu fu envais
De paiens, et mau le menerent
Et cruelment le degasterent.
Et con auqués tout degasté
Eussent et mis en lasté,
Les uns ocis, les autres pris
Avec tout ce qui fu de pris,
De la grant proie que retindrent
Au moustier saint Magloire vindrent
A grant cri et grant braierie
Pour refaire la roberie.
Et con par divers leus allassent
Pour ce que or et argent trovassent,
fol. 59*v* Venu s'en sont grant aleure
Droit au leu de la sepoulture
Saint Magloire, qui noblement

2720 Hypermetric. *qui aprés* = *qu'aprés.*

2725 Ms.: *Que.*

2727 *paiens*: Lat. *paganorum* (69b), and a few lines later *Normanni.* This attack on Sark may possibly reflect an episode of the first incursions made by the Danes and Normans on the Frankish monarchy. These began about the year 800 and beginning with 834 became more numerous. Cf. Lot and Ganshof, *Histoire du Moyen Age* I^2, (Paris 1941) pp. 485-86, 534; Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne* I, p. 35; Pierre le Baud, *Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 98. Cf. 2755.

2732 *mis en lasté*: rendered powerless. **lassus* + *itatem.* Not in the Latin version.

2738 *refaire*: reiterative.

Mis fu et honoreement.
Quant li moines ce regarderent,
Qui li sain[t] cors ilec garderent,
Poor orent de leur menace
Et lors un chascun d'euz enbrace
Le saint tomblel a main[s] estraites
Et maintes lermes avant traites;
Saint Magloire ont mou deprié
Que ses vertuz n'ait oublié
Et que de sa gent li souviegne
Et qu'i ex de liu meut et maintiegne
Des paiens normans anemis
Qui en son leu s'estoinet mis.
Quant li paien ce escouterent,
Adonc cuiderent et penserent
Que grant or et argent eust
Ou tomblel et plain en feust.
Sept homes prennent d'euz tres fort
Qui brisié ont a grant esfors
Le saint tomblel pour aprochier
Au saint cors et pour l'aprouchier
fol. 60*r* A force et a presumpcion,
Mes de Dieu l'operacion
Et la vertu fu la venant
Qui ceux avugla maintenant:
Clarté perdirent et veue,
Si ne se meut nul ne remue,
N'il ne sorent que il faisoient;
Li autre qui .ix. cenz estoient
Perdirent sens et esragent
Et ensamble s'entretuerent:
Ausinques l'un l'autre tua.
Saint Magloire tel vertu a
Fait et fist en sauvant s'eglise,
Si con l'estoire le devise.
Volu les vous ai deviser

2746 Ms.: *sain.*

2748-49 Transl.: And then each one of them embraces the holy tomb in taut hands. Lat.: "sargophagum sancti Maglorii strictis manibus amplexantes."

2749 Ms.: *main.*

2754 The O. Fr. pr. begins again at this line; *les delivrast de la gueule de l'annemi* (48a) corresponding to *a faucibus inimicis liberaret.* The meaning of the poem is obscure. Is it "that he move them from (the) place and protect (them) from the Norman pagans"? In that case, one would expect the subjunctive of *meut* to accord with *ait oublié, souviegne* and *maintiegne.* Might it be *qu'i ex delivrë et maintiegne ?*

2755 *Des paiens normans anemis.* Lat. *inimicis* (69b).

2757 *paien.* Lat. *barbari* (69b). O. Fr. pr. *li normant* (48a). Cf. 2727.

2764 Ms.: *pouchier* with the *r* hyperscript and something which might be the initial *a* in a corrector's hand.

2779-88 Annominatio introduced by *devise* of 2778. Transl.: I have willed to describe

2780 Et il nous doint si aviser —
Cilz dont ci vous ai devisé —
Que nous soions si avisé
En bien par son avisement
2784 Que nous veons aviseement
Dié qui saint Magloire avisa,
Dont vers les siens tel avis a:
Il esgarda a son devis
2788 Touz ensamble par non-devis.

fol. 60*v* Coment le filz d'un noble enporta par sa force ce que son pere avoit laissié et donné a l'abbaie saint Magloire et conment il morut mauvesement.

Aprés la mort de saint Magloire,
Un riches hom, ce dit l'estoire,
A cui l'isle estoit de Bissarge
2792 D'eritage, prochein a Sarge,
De la mort poia le treu,
Si con il ot a Dieu pleu;
Nule riens ne l'en secourut.
2796 Mes toutesvois, ainz qu'il morut,
Ses freres a Dieu conmanda
Et amis, et leur conmanda
Que le sien cors, aprés sa vie,
2800 Enterré fust en l'abbaie
Saint Magloire et en s'eglise.
Et il fut fait a sa devise,
Car, quant s'ame fu trespassee,
2804 La char de son cors ont lavee
Et puis le mirent en la biere
Ceus qui en firent triste chiere
fol. 61*r* De sa mort; et quant ce fait eurent
2808 En la maniere que il durent,
Porté l'ont honoreement
Au moustier et sollempne(e)ment.
Quant receu et seveli
2812 Li moines orent le cors de li
A grant diligence et grant cure,
Doné ont pour sa [se]poulture

them to you and may he whom I have here told you about grant us to be so wise in (doing) good through his counsel that we may see face to face God who directed Saint Magloire whence he (Magloire) has such guidance for his own. He selfishly watched over all together through disinterestedness.

2793 *De la mort poia le treu*: payed the tribute of death. Lat.: "debitum mortis exsolvere" (69a). O. Fr. pr.: "paier le deu de la mort" (48a).

2808 Ms.: *durent* with *e* hyperscript between *d* and *u* in a corrector's hand.

2810 Hypermetric. *sollempneement* = *sollempnement.*

2812 Hypermetric. *Li moines* = *Li moine.*

2814 Ms.: *pour sapoulture.*

Et pour l'absolte de li faire,
2816 Si con conmandé ot a faire
Quant vivoit, sanz nulles essoines
A saint Magloire et a ses moines
Son cheval et sa couverture,
2820 S'espee avec sa fourneture,
Baudrier d'or, esperons doréz.
De ces choses fu honoréz
Saint Magloire et li moine ensamble
2824 Que de ce rien en ne leur emble.

Cilz morz dont j'ai fait mencion,
Par devine operacion,
Ot un fil mout presumpcieus,
2828 De Dieu hai et envieus,
Qui u temps que son pere estoit
Malades au leu n'arestoit,
fol. 61*v* Mes loigns lors de celle terre ere;
2832 Si ne fut a la mort son pere,
Car loign du païs fu tourné.
Mes quant arriers fu retourné
Et son pere ot mort conneu,
2836 De son ostel s'est esmeu
Par samblant mout paisiblement,
Mes u cuer ot repostement
Fraude et barat et tricherie.
2840 Au moines vint de 'abbaie
Saint Magloire et leur fist requeste
Q'unblement sanz faire moleste
Les armes son pere et s'offrende
2844 De son cors par pris l'en li rende:
Cheval, couverture enarmée,
Esperons, baudrier et espee,
Ce requiert qu'il li soit rendu
2848 Par pris. Quant cil l'ont entendu,
Que filz de si tres vaillant home

2817 *sanz nulles essoines* — without any excuses or causes for excuse. Lacurne *sv. c.* (Not in Latin version.)

2820 His sword with its gear, (accouterments). Lat. *omni ornatu gladii* (69b), O. Fr. pr. *tout son aornement de guerre* (48b).

2821 *esperons doréz.* Lat. *spenoribus aureis.* O. Fr. pr. *ses esperons d'or*< Frank. *spōro*; Goth. *spora.* DuCange *s. v. spourones* gives first example.

2822-24 Transl.: With these things was Saint Magloire together with the monks *endowed* so that one might not steal anything of it from them. (Not in Latin.)

2823 Ms.: *ensamble* with *e* in a corrector's hand above the *a*.

2844, 2848 *par pris*: at (their) value. Lat.: "ad redimendum" (69b). O. Fr. pr.: "pour reembre" (48b).

2845 *enarmée*: equipped with bands, metal plates = caparison. Cf. Froissart IX, 124.

2847 Ms.: *Ce q'requiert* with *q'* likely deleted.

Ne se courrouçast, — c'est la some
Pour pou, — ceus qui ne le voloient,
Ce que receu en avoient
Tout apportent en esperance
Du pris avoir sanz demourance.
fol. 62*r* Lors quant vit les dons de son pere,
D'une grant couvoitise avere
Espris, ses conpaignons apele
Et si con mauffé li revele;
Tout enportent par violance
Sanz faire en nule redevance.
Ainsinc celi s'emble a grant joie.
Retourna quant il ot proie,
Sa voie espoenteusement
Prist et impetueusement.

Et quant li moine ont ce veu
Qu'ainsinc cilz les a deceu,
A l'aide de Dieu coururent
Quant sus ceus force avoir ne peurent,
Car quant l'aide humaine faut,
Aller a la devine faut.
Au cors saint Magloire aprochierent
Et sains sonnans li souplierent
Touz ensamble communement,
En pleurs, en criz mout longuement,
Que le mesfait et sacrilege,
Que cilz avoit fait con herege,
Venjast tost et isnelement.

Adonc saint Magloire briement
fol. 62*v* D'euz a receu la priere,
Car a celi, qui de maniere
Nouvele se vantoit de proie
Par le chemin et par la voie,
Saint Magloire li vint encontre
Et si visiblement l'encontre
Que parmi le front li apointe

2850-51 *C'est la some Pour pou*: — that's the story in a nut-shell; that the son of so worthy a man should not be provoked, or at least very little, in Lat.: *vel ad modicum* (69c), and in O. Fr. pr. *en aucune maniere.*

2858 *Et si con mauffé li revele.* And as one foresworn (perjured, perfidious) he reveals himself there: *i. e., s'i revele.* (Not in Latin version.)

2872 *sains sonnans*: with ringing bells. Lat. *pulsatis signis* (69a). O. Fr. pr. *sainz sonnanz* (48c).

2876 *herege = hereticum.* (Not in Latin.)

2880-81 Transl.: was boasting of a brand-new way of (acquiring) booty. Cf. Lat.: "novo genere predandi se jactanti" (69d). O. Fr. pr.: "se vantast ... de sa nouvele manniere de tolir praie" (48c).

2885-86 *Cf.* 2421-22.

Devant de son baston la pointe.
Lors cilz qui feruz se senti
2888 De son mesfait se repenti
De ce qu'ot retrait folement
De son pere le testament;
Son pechié connut en present.
2892 Et saint Magloire a fait present,
Avec touz les dons de son pere,
De quanqu'ot de chose qu'apere
De paterne sucession.
2896 En lermes et devocion
Tout li envoie ainsinc par don;
De son mesfait requist pardon.
Mes combien qu'en plorant requiere
2900 Et sa pitié et sa priere,
Ilec de laide mort morut
Que son pleur ne l'en secourut.

2894 Ms.: *quanquot* with *i* hyperscript between *u* and *o* in a corrector's hand. The corrector apparently concluded that the line should mean: of whatever he had that might appear (to be) from paternal inheritance. In his correction, he made the line hypermetric. The verb in question seems to be *aparier*: to couple, unite < *ad-pariare*. Thererfore the meaning is: of whatever he had that is united to paternal inheritance.

2902 Omitted in the poem is a moralization on the salvation or perdition of the youth, the fact that such a question belongs to divine rather than to human judgment and that, as sinners, we cannot know the ways of God. To Him therefore we should leave the fate of the errant son. The poem lacks moreover the chapter heading and the first two lines. The chapter heading is supplied from the O.Fr.pr. (48d) and the first two lines from de la Borderie's transcription, p. 15. Since de la Borderie used this same manuscript, it is difficult to know where he got them unless he made them up. The poem, moreover, lacks the introduction of this chapter (Lat. 70a, O.Fr.pr. 48d-49a). There is reason to believe therefore that a folio (which would contain the conclusion of the preceding chapter and the introduction to the present one as well as the illumination characteristic of a chapter heading) has been lost. This is not apparent in the numbering of the folios in question; there is no discontinuity in numerotation. The Latin text of the part omitted in the poem reads: "Sed utrum divina largitate cujus pietatis et misericordie non est numerus et intercessione sancti Maglorii veniam assequi potuit an exigente mole peccaminum secreto Dei judicio inremediabiliter periit, non humano sed divino pensandum est judicio. Nos autem homines mole peccaminum obruti, divine rationis ignari, scientes multa esse que nesciri quam sciri plus expedit, quicquid nos latet illius subtilissimo examini reservamus, cujus vox est quicquid residuum fuerit igni comburetis, cujus majestas fulget in excelsis per infinita secula seculorum. Amen. QUALITER CORPUS EJUS A SARGIA INSULA AD BRITANNIAM TRANSLATUM EST. (70a). Descriptis utcumque sancti Maglorii quibusdam miraculis et virtutibus quibus apud Sargiam conversatus non solum in vita sed etiam post obitum nomen ejus celebre multis regionibus enituit, qualiter sacrosanctum corpus illius ad Britanniam Domino ducente ductum est veredicis litterarum caracteribus intimare. Eo tempore rex famosissimus nomine *Nomenoe* imperii dignitate simul et nobilitate pollens..."

[Coment son saint cors fu translaté de l'isle de Sarge en Bretaigne.]

[Un roi Nomenoé ot non
En celi temps, de grant renon,]
fol. 63*r* Qui d'emperial d[ign]ité
Fu et de grant nobilité;
Et puisqu'ost cilz renoméz princes
A soi conquis maintes provinces,
San ce que de son droit tenoit,
Bretaigne en touz biens maintenoit
Et en pais et roial hautesce
La gouvernoit et en richesce.
Un jour avint que celi roi
Chacier ala a grant arroi;
De chevallierz et de maisnie
Sanz nombre ot en sa compaignie
Et chiens couranz sanz nombre avoit.
Li rois qui les leus bien savoit
Deléz une rive d'un fleuve
Au pié d'une montaigne trueve
Sis moines repoz qui la furent;
Entre espines et ronces furent
Et de ce qu'au mains laboroient,
Leur povre vivre la queroient.
Et quant li rois palles et maigres
[Les voit], liéz ne fu ne alleig[res],

2903 Ms.: *daquite.*

2904 *Un roi Nomenoius ot nom*
En celi temps, de grant renom
Qui d'imperial dignité
Fu et de grant nobilité (A. de la Borderie, p. 15).

2905 Nominoë was a Breton noble to whom the Emperor had given the permanent powers of *missus* within the province; in 837 he opposed the occupation of Britanny by Frankish troops. In 840 Nominoë joined Lothaire as opposed to Charles, believing the former less dangerous to the autonomy he sought. Charles campaigned against N. *ca.* 843 In 845 he was defeated by N. at Ballon and in 846 he was forced to recognize Breton independence. N. on his part deigned to recognize the theoretical authority of Charles. In 850 Nominoë invaded the Breton Marches, seized Nantes and broke relations between the Churches of Britanny and Tours, their metropolis. He died in 851.

2910 The poem renders the Latin rather closely: "postquam multas provincias, non contentus avitibus sedibus, suo imperio subjugasset, Britanniam omnibus bonis opulentam regia sublimitate suffultus in pace gubernabat" (70a). It is noteworthy that the O.Fr.pr. translation of the Latin omits reference to Britanny: "Et comme les sieges de ses ancesseurs ne li soufisoient pas, il mist souz sa seignorie mout d'autres provinces par sa hautesce roial" (49a).

2924 The line is incomplete in the Ms. and space is left blank; the Latin version reads here *videns eos pallore et macie infectos* (71a), and the O.Fr.pr. *les veist maigres et pales* (49a).

Ainçois de la paour devine,
Qui le cuer li point et espine,
fol. 63*v* Encerchié leur a sagement
De leur vie au conmencement
Ne pour coi telz lieus habitoient
Qui desert et sauvages estoient.
Lors cil, pour la chevallerie
Qu'entour li virent espartie
Et pour le roial ornement
Que sus li virent vraiement,
Connurent que cilz rois estoit
Qui ainsi a eus s'arestoit.
Lors a genouz le saluerent
Et mout humblement l'enbracierent;
En priant a genouz se mirent
Et puis responsse li rendirent
A sa demande couvenable:
"He ! tres bon roi, mur defenssable
De la terre tout environ,
Croi nous de ce que te diron.
En vérité, rois, doiz connestre
Le nostre propoz itel estre:
De vie de moine mener
Et a Dieu servir ordener
Des ores mes jusqu'à la fin
. . . .
fol. 64*r* Et Dieu prier qui u ciel regne
Pour le roi et pour tout son regne,
Et pour touz ceus qui sont leenz
Au roi, au regne et au roianz.
Mais pour ce que ce puissons faire
Plus legierement, sanz mesfaire,
A la noble et roial hautesce
Souplions que de sa largesce
Terre arable de fruit garnie
Nous ostroit pour la nostre vie."
Lors li rois de gre la demande
Ostrie a quanqu'en li demande,
En requerant quiex sains avoient
Ne quiex reliques aouroient
Pour ce que d'euz voloit savoir,
S'i voloient la terre avoir,
A quiex sains se conmanderoit

2950 The last line of fol. 63^v has been left blank. The missing line would seem to complete *ordener* of 2948. There is no correspondence in the Latin: *nostrum propositum esse vitam monachicam in divino servicio finetenus ducere et pro rege et suis fidelibus...* (70b).

2954 Lines 2953-54 have no parallel in the Latin, unless they are expansions of *suis fidelibus. Leenz,* normally "within", is followed by the preposition *a. roianz* would seem to be the pres. part. of *reembre*< *redimere* = *redemptos.*

Au besoign quant il li seroit;
Savoir veust cui abandonner
Sa terre devoit ne donner.
Et quant li rois sot qu'il disoient
Que reliques de sains n'avoient,
Puis qu'il n'avoient saintuaire,
Li rois vost sa terre retraire;
fol. 64*v* La terre leur a devee[e],
Mes pecune leur a donnee,
Et en departant leur vost dire:
"Se tout-puissant Dieu, nostre Sire,
Pour la paine et penalité
Qu'avéz et vostre humilité,
Qu'aucun saint vous veille otroier
Et en ce leu ci envoier
De l'aide auquel et priere
Secouruz soit ça en arriere,
Et je en mes granz faiz soutenu,
Tantost con ce iert avenu,
Ou que je soie, en ma presence
Venéz seurz et sanz doutance,
Car lors ce leu dedierai
En son non et l'onorerai
Toutes fois que me vendréz querre
De possessions et de terre
Selonc mon pooir largement;
Ce vous promet certainement."
Ainsi li roi d'euz se depart
Et, quant il virent le depart,
Con tristes tou ce jour plorerent
Et le jour tout en pleur menerent

fol. 65*r* En la parfin se conseillerent,
Puis aprés trois jours junerent.
Et ce fait, dont d'euz home sage
D'aler en Sarge ont fait message
Et qui bien la savoit la voie,

2968 Cf. Latin: "in otio et negotio" (70b). O.Fr.pr.: "quant il seroit en pais ou en guerre" (49b).

2973 This line is lacking in the Latin.

2975 Ms.: *devee.* Lat.: "terra vero negata" (70b). O.Fr.pr.: "denia la terre" (49b).

2984 The subject of *secouruz soit* is *leu.* Lat.: "cujus patrocinio valeat locus iste fulciri" (70b). O.Fr.pr.: "aucun saint par qui ce leu puisse estre honoré" (49b).

2985 Transl.: And I (be) aided in my arduous undertakings. Lat.: "ego possim in rebus arduis adjuvari" (70b). O.Fr.pr.: "et je en mes granz besoignes aidié" (49b).

3000 *junerent=jĕunerent.*

3001-02 Transl.: When that was done, then they chose as (made their) envoy from among themselves, a man who knew the way to Sark. Lat.: "unum ex illis peritum vie, plenum scientie, ad Sargiam direxerunt."

Et cil volentierz leur otroie;
Et la beneiçon d'euz prise,
Selonc la coustume et la guise,
Tantost venuz est au rivage.
En la nef entre, outre s'en nage
Que nul vent ne l'a estrivé,
Mais droit a Sarge est arrivé
Conme pelerin sauvement.
Et quant encerchié sagement
Ot .ii. jourz ou troiz cele terre,
Cilz, qui bien sot qu'il venoit querre
Et a cui mout demeure et tarde,
A ceus qui le cors saint en garde
Orent se joint premierement
Et leur a dit priveement:
"Je vous ai grant secré a dire
De par le roi, le vostre sire,
Mes qu'en leu sur me menéz".
Et quant cilz d'euz il fu menéz,
fol. 65*v* Ceus salue au conmencement
De par le roi benignement,
Et grant peccune et grant honeur
Leur promist de par son seigneur
A avoir pardurablement,
Mes qu'il ait fait entierement
La besoigne qu'il devoit faire:
"Mes tel secré", dit il, "retraire
Ne vous ose, [se serement]
Ne faites que celeement
Gardez ce que vous sera dit,
Car ainsi li rois le m'a dit."
Lors les gardes de saint Magloire,
De par Dieu, si con l'en doit croire,

3011 *Conme pelerin.* Lat.: "quasi causa orandi" (70b). O.Fr.pr.: "aussi conme par cause de pelerinage" (49c).

3012 Ms.: *sauvement* with *uv* deleted by dots and *ge* above it in a corrector's hand.

3014-15 Transl.: He who indeed knew what he came to look for and who was in hot haste and hurry. (There is no correspondence in the Latin.)

3022 *il* = *i*<*ibi.* Lat.: "Cumque locum tutum ad narrandum illis ducentibus vidisset" (70c). O.Fr.pr. : "Et quant il ot veu le leu ou il le menerent qui estoit seur pour leur dire" (49 c).

3027 The Latin equivalent reads: *vobis et vestre posteritati* (70c). Beda Plaine in his edition of this episode (*Anal. Boll.* 8, 1889), p. 373, n. 1, interprets these words to indicate that these guardians of the saint's body were married and were not professed monks. The O. Fr. pr. probably brings out the meaning clearly: that the promise was made to these monks and to the monks who would follow them: *a vous et a eus qui apres vous seront* (49c).

3031 Ms.: *ne vous ose je seurement.* Lat.: "Illius tamen secretum... nisi promiseritis cum magno sacramento salvum esse, denudare nullatenus audeo" (70c). O.Fr.pr.: "je ne vous ose dire son secre se vous ne prometez par grant serement que il sera sauf" (49c). These indicate the correction that needs to be made, especially in view of the punctuation.

Enseignés, qui grant joie orent
De la promesse au roi qu'il sorent,
Car tot firent le serement.
Et cil le reçut lieement
Et son mesage leur propose
. . . .
Et leur conmence en tel maniere:
"Vous savéz que, ça en arriere
Et jusqu'orendroit, nostre rois
Mout a fait guerres et desrois.
fol· 66*r* A ses anemis redoutables,
Presumpcieus et variables
Par ses forces a il esté,
Sique nul ne l'a contresté;
Homecide et de Dieu hay
Et mains païs a envay.
Ne ne li a souffit sa terre,
Mes est l'autrui allé conquerre
Es lointains païs, et contrees
Et maintes terres a gastees,
Arsses et prises sanz desdire
Et souzmises a son empire;
Citéz a pris par sa puissance;
Aucunes de ceus par liance,
Les autres a fait tributaires.
Mout a fait de divers afaires:
Rapines et murtres et proies,
Les leus sains ars parmi les voies;
Espargnié n'a moustier n'eglise.
Mes orendroit il se ravise
De Dieu qui enluminé l'a,
Car puis que deç[a] et dela
Nul païs desdire ne l'ose,
Ordené a une tel chose,
fol. 66*v* Laquele vous veust ci mander:
Vivre en pais, ses maus amender
Et de son propre veust il vivre,
Et l'autrui veust il rendre a delivre;

3042 Ms.: Space is left blank for the line. The Latin: *diasyrticam aggressus locutionem* (70c), was apparently too much for the poet. The word is the Greek *διασυρτικός*, meaning disparaging, ridiculous, scoffing, mocking. The O.Fr.pr. understood the Latin as *par fainte parole double et de loign.* That is, the messenger used double talk.

3043-44 Ms.: The lines are out of order. Correct order is indicated in margin by *.b.* and *.a.*

3054 Ms.: *aller.*

3060 *par liance*: by alliance, treaty. Lat.: "quasdam federatas" (70c). O. Fr. pr.: "il en a aucunes aliees a lui" (49d).

3068 Ms.: *de ce.*

3074 Hypermetric. Omit *il?*

Rendre rapines et torfais
3076 Qui ont esté jusqu'a or fais.
Et que tout briement puisse dire,
Veust touz maus laissier et despire,
Et si bien se veust ordener
3080 Que tout veust a droit ramener.
Entre ces choses, en son regne
Dela en Bretaigne ou il regne,
Un lieu sus touz a esleu,
3084 Car planteureus l'a veu
Et gracieus pour la riviere
Qui l'arouse avant et arriere;
D'autre part, la mer l'avironne
3088 Qui touz poissons li abandonne
Et de montaignes la hautesce
Li est deffensse et fort[e]resce.
De vignes et de prez abonde
3092 Et si contient a sa reonde
Les bois plains d'arbres delitables
Et des herbes medicinables:
fol. 67*r* Pomiers, poiriers non pas sauvages,
3096 Pins, chesnes et biaus courtillages;
De touz biens temporeus planté
A li rois en ce leu planté.
Et pour la reançon de s'ame,
3100 Que li rois desoremés ame,
Ce leu veust il de dons roiaus
Et d'esleuz moines feaus
Et de reliques de sains maintes
3104 Qui en ce leu seront ataintes,
Tant conme il vit, sanz demourer,
Au plus qu'il porra, honorer.

Et pour ce qu'il a saint Magloire
3108 Especiaument en menoire
Et a amour parfaitement,
Vous a fait li rois mandement
Que son cors entier sanz detraire
3112 Li envoiéz, car il veust faire
Celi leu en sa reverance
Et veust qu'en la vostre puissance

3075 *torfais* = illegal deeds (contrary to law). *tort* + *fait*; *tortum factum.*

3080 Lat.: "omnia prava in directa deducere" (70d). Cf. *Isaias* XL, 4: "et erunt prava in directa." Cf. also *Luke* III, 5.

3096 *courtillages*=gardens. Lat. *hortis* (70d). O. Fr. pr. *jardins* (49d).

3097-98 No direct correspondence in Latin.

3097 *planté* = *plenitatem*, abundance.

3100 Ms.: *ame* with *i* hyperscript between *a* and *m* in a corrector's hand.

3114 There is no doubt of the reading of *vostre*. Yet the Latin has clearly *sub nostra potestate* (70d). On the other hand the O.Fr.pr. reads *Souz vostre puissance* (50a). The sense would seem to demand *vostre*.

Ce leu sanz nul enpeeschement
3116 Receviéz pardurablement."

Lors cil qui le saint cors garderent
De ce biau leu se deliterent
fol. 67*v* Que cil leur a dit et conté,
3120 Et en seurté sont monté
De la promesse au roi aprés
Et de Dieu qui leur estoit pres,
Par cui il furent esmeu
3124 Quant a saint Magloire a pleu;
Si ont promis tuit, sanz mesfaire,
Tout enteriner et parfaire
Ce que le roi leur a mandé
3128 Et ainsinc con l'a conmandé.
Lors, ce fait, plus que ne diroie
Li messages au cuer ot joie;
Et en ce temps et la journee
3132 Que a ses freres ot assenee
Avec mariniers esleuz,
Sages en mer et pourveuz,
Par lesquiex le cors saint briement
3136 Feust mené et sauvement,
Au leu retourna sainement
Dont il se mut premierement
Et a ses freres, sanz mesconte,
3140 Tout ce qu'a dit et fait raconte.

Puis, en aprés mainte journee,
Un moine de noble ligniee
fol. 68*r* Qui adonc Condan non avoit
3144 Et assés de lettres savoit,
Preudome et de grant abstinence,
De bele et tres douce eloquence —
Et c'est cil dont j'ai ci parlé
3148 Devant qui fu en Sarge allé —
Appareliéz fu sanz demeure,
Quant le temps couvenable et l'eure
Vit que les gardes mis li orent.

3126 *enteriner* - lit. a juridical term: "to make an act legal or valid by ratifying it". Verb made from an adj. *enterin* - whole, perfect. Cf. Block *s. v. entier.*

3131-32 Lat.: "pacto die et tempore quo iterum rediret" (70d). O.Fr.pr.: "Et pristrent par couvenance certain jor et certain temps que il revendroit". The poet has made his sentence depend on *au leu retourna* of 3137, and the sense seems to be that he returned to the mainland on the day appointed. He has neglected to include the idea expressed in the original: that he agreed with the custodians of the body, about the exact day on which he would return to the Island with expert help to remove it.

3147-48 The identification of Condanus with the messenger is an addition of the poet. It has no equivalent in the Latin.

Lors avec cil Condain s'esmurent
Aucuns moines de petit nombre
Qui, sanz ce que riens les enconbre,
De par Dieu qui les maine et guie
A Sarge vindrent par navie.

Adonc hors des nes s'en alerent
Et entour miedi trespasserent
Par devant le seul de l'eglise
Ou du diacre estoit enprise
Tout droit cele evvangile a dire
En laquele dit nostre Sire
Par ses paroles la retraitres:
"Gardéz vous de ses faus prophetes
Qui samblent berbiz de leur robe,
Mes par dedenz sont lou qui robe.
fol. 68*v* Berbiz sont par fausse apparance,
Mais il sont lous par violance;
Itiex sont les faus ypochrites".
Quant ces paroles furent lites,
Tantost con Condain les escoute
En paour entra et en doute;
Ses conpaignons a apelé
Et dit leur a que revelé
Estoit ce que voloient faire,
Et qu'a souffrir et mout a faire
Il aroi[en]t procheinnement.
Et quant esoine entierement
L'evvangile a esté devine,
Devant l'ostel chascun s'encline
Et, en sengloutant et plorant,
La furent longuement orant.
Et quant aoré longuement urent
Et de terre levé se furent,
Un des moines de l'abbaie
Qui devant les autres maistrie

3161 Ms.: *dire* with *d* deleted by dot and *l* above it in a corrector's hand. The Latin: *legebat* (71a); O.Fr.pr.: *lisoit* (50b). The original *dire* may have been occasioned by *dit* of the next line. The correction was perhaps caused by *lites*, 3170, on the basis of analogy; recorded by Godefroy IX, 86.

3164 *ses* = *ces*.

3164-67 Cf. *Matt.* VII, 15: "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces." Lat.: "Attendite a falsis prophetis et reliqua..."

3177 Ms.: *aroit.* Lacks a syllable, Corr.: *aroient.* Cf. O.Fr.pr.: "que procheinnement il auroient moult a souffrir" (50b). Lat. (sing !): "se in proximo multa una cum suo comitatu passurum."

3178-79 *esoine... a esté.* Lat.: "Finita autem lectione evangelica" (71a). O.Fr.pr.: "Quant la leçon de l'evvangile fu finee" (50b).

Sanbloit avoir, vint en presence
Et leur presenta la pitance
Et l'ostel ausinc en pité,
Si con par hospitalité,
fol. 69*r* Et qu'avec les freres venissent
Et que de leurs biens il preissent
Largement. Ainsinc cilz les meine
A la table au disner et ceine
Sis jourz, mes au septieme jour
Ne vodrent plus faire sejour,
Mes retourner vodrent arriere;
Et ceus enquierent la maniere,
En quel leu n'en quel part aloient,
Ne pour coi la venu estoient.
Lors ceus dirent en leur parler
Que outremer voloient aller,
Mes par orage et par tempeste
Des vens qui leur firent moleste
En cele isle venu estoient
Ou pas venir il ne voloient.
Et lors en grant devocion
Aus freres supplicacion
Firent qu'en l'eglise veillassent,
Par coi il se reconmandassent
Au prieres de saint Magloire,
Siques par la seue adjutoire,
Que mout voloient reclamer,
L'endemain les vens de la mer,
fol. 69*v* Le floz, les tormenz ensement
Poissent passer sainement.

Et quant les freres les oirent,
A leur requeste consentirent;
Et lors ceus avecques la garde
Qui le cors saint ilecques garde
Jusqu'au premier somme veillerent.
Et quant virent et esprouverent
Que ceus qui en l'isle habitoient
De vin et de sommeil estoient
Enseveliz et assomé,
Lors cilz qui fu Condan nonmé
Le couvecle du tonblel a
Saint Magloire tourné de la, —
Sanz avoir nule aide humainne, —

3188 *Pitance.* Portion which was given to each one at meals in Religious communities (J. de Meung). These distributions of food were often assured by pious foundations; they did not include bread. Cf. 1161.

3221 *au premier somme.* Lat. *primam partem noctis.* (71a).

3227 *tonblel* - small sepulchre or tomb; < *tumullulus*, DuCange, *sv.*

Que sis tres fors homes a paine
Poissent de terre lever.
Quant donc le leva sanz grever,
Chascun puet bien dire en apert
Que la miracle fist apert
Saint Magloire, sanz fiction,
A la seue translacion.
Ainsinc le cors de saint Magloire
Pristrent, si con nous dit l'estoire;
fol. 70*r* Et ainsi leaument l'emblerent
Et dedenz la nef l'enporterent:
Un larrecin loial firent,
Et tantost en la nef le mirent.
La nef montent et a la voie
Se metent et Diex les convoie.

Quant ce fu fait et heure vint
Que les moines lever couvint
Pour chanter le devin servise,
Adonc entrerent en l'eglise
Et le tonblé ont regardé;
Mes nul n'i a qui l'ait gardé!
Les huis touz ouverz esgarderent
Et u tonblel riens ne trouverent;
Adonc ont fait par l'abbaie
Grant pleur, grant plainte, grant crierie,
Quant emblé virent saint Magloire;
Tel cri font qu'en ne le puet croire.
Et quant ceus de l'isle l'oirent,
A l'abbaie tantost vindrent
Et des freres ont, sanz demeure,
Enquis pour coi chascun d'euz pleure
Ne pour coi sont si esmeu;
Et quant la chose ont conneu,
fol. 70*v* Par le conseil, qu'entr'euz eslirent,
Homes, sages mariniers, prirent
Qui tot parmi la mer volassent
Et ses sacrileges tuassent,
Et le saint cors de leur seigneur
Ramenassent a grant honneur
Au premier leu ou pris l'avoient.
Adonc ceus par la mer s'avoient,
Parmi la mer s'en vont braiant
Et leur granz avirons fraiant;
Sarge vont briement estrangier

3232-36 Poet's addition.

3241 A spiritual (pious) theft. Lat.: "corpus furtum fidele rapientes" (71b). O.Fr.pr.: "et pristrent le saint larrecin, c'est le cors saint Magloire" (50c).

3266 *ses=ces.*

Et de la fain qu'ont d'euz vengier
Chascun s'esforce et esvertue.
3276 Si est la chose atant venue
Que la nef, ou saint Magloire iere,
A prendre estoit assés legiere
Des autres qui l'ont aprochiee.
3280 Lors ont mainte larme gitee
Li moine qui le saint cors portent;
Mout plaignent, mout se desconfortent,
Car con a la mort il se virent.
3284 Lors en pleurs et en larmes dirent:
"Saint Magloire, t'a il pleu
Que nous aies ci deceu?
fol. 71*r* Pour coi suefre[s] tu la venue
3288 De nos anemis dont perdue
Du tout en tout [est] nostre vie?
Sire, s'i ne te plaisoit mie
De ça venir avecques nous,
3292 Pour coi as tu souffert que nous
Aions ton saint tunblel ouvert?
Se nostre fait as descouvert
Et nos cors a nos anemis
3296 Baillé qui ci sont entremis,
Aus ames ne veilles soutraire,
Par ta priere debonnaire,
Au moins soulas, et te remenbres
3300 De ceus qui ci portent tes menbres".

A ceste voiz, a ceste plainte
Que li moines firent sanz fainte,
Chose tres merveilleuse a dire
3304 I fist la vertu nostre Sire;
La vertu devine briement
I ouvra manifestement,
Car une pluie bloe, espesse,
3308 Leur chiet et nuit d'iver les presse.
L'iaue s'enfle, obscurté lieve
Qui deça et de la les grieve;
fol. 71*v* Les vens ensamble se conbatent
3312 Qui la mer tournent et debatent;
La mer s'enfle et en haut se dresce.
Nule de leur nes ne s'adresce,
Ainçois par la force de vent
3316 S'en vont ce derriere devant,
Siqu'en haute mer sont getees.
Adonc sont leur painnes doublees,

3287 Ms.: *suefre.*
3289 Lacks one syllable. Corr. by adding *est* which is needed.
3307 *une pluie bloe* — *caeruleus imber* (71c) — dark, pitchy flood of rain.
3314 *s'adresce* — goes or travels smoothly. Lat.: "naves jactantur in alto gurgite."

Car pluie et vent si les menerent
Que jour avec ciel leur [o]sterent ;
Clarté perdent, car vent et pluie
Avec tenebres leur ennuie.
Une fois esclarcit, puis tonne
Qui les mariniers touz estonne;
Le vent les maine et les boute
Par la mer ou ne voient goute,
Mes toutevois sauve leur vie,
Conbien que le vent les desvie.
Puis le flot de la mer les grieve
Qui haut jusques au ciel les lieve,
Puis en abisme les ramaine;
Ainsi les tourment[e] et demaine.
En la parfin de la tempeste
De la mer qui tant les tempeste,
fol. 72*r* Joie ont de la mort qu'eschaperent
Et tou droit a l'isle arriverent
Dont parti furent par la force
Des venz qui ainsi les esforce,
Et pour ce, ainsinc, que contredire
Ne porent au gre nostre Sire,
Car li hons propose et pourpensse,
Mes Diex ordene et contrepensse.
Et ceus qui le cors saint gardoient
Et ceus qui procuré l'avoient
Orent si la mer agreable
Que, sanz nule chose grevable,
Au port desirré arrivee
Fu la nef a cele journee.
Ainsi ceus en Bretaigne vindrent
Et li autre en Sarge se tindrent;
Ainsi vertu devine fait
Pour saint Magloire double fait
Dont li un ont aversité
Et li autre prosperité
Qui le cors mainnent sainement,
Car mer ne leur fist nuisement.
Si en retourn(er)ent a grant feste;
Li autre a deul et a tempeste.
fol. 72*v* A Sarge tournent esperdu
Et cors saint et paine ont perdu.

3320 Ms.: *esterent*.

Coment le cors saint Magloire fu mis desus .i. pomier aigre et la partie sus quoi le cors saint Magloire fu mis devint douce et l'autre partie remaint sauvage.

Ceus donc qui le cors saint menoient,
Quant a rive a joie se voient,
En une ville si s'en vindrent
3364 Et leur cordes et voiles firent
Pour sechier au soleil porter
Et puis, pour leurs cors conforter
Qui de la mer sont traveillié,
3368 Grant disner ont appareillié.
Et ainsinc conme appareilloient
La chose que mengier devoient,
Leu n'avoient pas procuré
3372 Ou le cors du saint honoré
Meissent, mes adonques troverent
U courtil d'un home entrerent.
Et en ce courtil, a planté,
3376 Ot entes et pomiers planté;
fol. 73r Entre les autres un en virent
Ou, par desus, le saint cors mirent
Sus l'arbre, droit sanz autre place,
3380 Pour ce qu'il tenoit grant espace,
Car les rains du pomier portoient
En deuz parties et aloient:
Vers oriant l'une se part
3384 Et vers occidant l'autre part.
Et l'une de ses parz mengerent
Et le cors saint desus poserent.
Et quant ensamble disné furent
3388 De la viande que il urent,
Entrementes qu'i s'esbatoient,
Les pomes qui desus estoient
Entour le cors saint Magloire
3392 Devant leur temps, ce doit on croire,
Meures illec, sanz demeure,
Cheirent sus la table en l'eure.
Et puis qu'ainsinc furent cheues,
3396 Li moines les ont receues,

3361 Both the Latin and the O.F.pr. lack the title of the chapter and simply continue without a break in the narrative. So also the edition of Beda Plaine in his ms. edition of this chapter in *Anal Boll.* VIII, (1889), 377.

3374 Ms.: *U courtil dun home entrerent* with *ou* hyperscript between *home* and *entrerent.* Lat.: "hortum cujusdam hominis pomiferis arboribus insitum intraverunt" (71c). O.Fr.pr. "Il entrerent ou jardin d'un home qui estoit plain d'arbres portanz pommes" (51a).

3377 The poet has omitted the description of the tree given in the Latin: "Acerrimi et amarissimi saporis poma ferentem" (71c).

3389 Ms.: *s'esbatoient qui.* Lat.: "illis inter se vario sermone fabulantibus" (71d). O. Fr. pr.: "il gengloient entr' eus par diverses paroles" (51b).

Mes cilz qui du courtil sire iere
Et la nature et la maniere
Du pomier savoit tres aigre estre,
Leur en a deffendu le pestre
fol. 73*v* Pour ce que trop aigres estoient:
Deffent que mengiees ne soient.
Et adonques les refuserent
Et en la fange les geterent,
Mais c'un des moines qui en prent
L'une et ceste chose l'enprent
Et enpris a sanz delaier,
Car il veust l'aigreur essaier.
Quant il la prent, des denz rechine,
Mes au gouter la treuve fine,
De si douz goust con l'en puist croire;
Et ce fist Diex pour saint Magloire.
Et cil qui la sent savoureuse,
Au mengier soueve, amoureuse,
Aus autres dist qu'il en meng[u]ssent;
Et conme goutté il en eussent,
Il tesmoignerent et jurerent
Qu'omques meilleurs il ne trouverent.
Bon fait donc tel seigneur amer
Qui fait a douz fruit de l'amer,
Et saint Magloire ausi servir
Qui tel grace pot deservir.

Quant le vilain vit l'aventure
Cui li courtiz fu de droiture,
fol. 74*r* Pour ce que courrouciéz ne feussent
Li moine ou soupeçon n'eussent
Qu'i leur eust par couvoitise
Refusé ses pomes, fust mise
Refuse ses pomes donner
Ne ne vosist abandonner,
Tantost et maintenant en l'erre
S'est getéz a la nue terre;
Les piéz a grant humilité
Condain, dont vous ai ci dité,
Enbrace et li conmence a dire:
"Condan, beneoait [pere] et sire,
A vostre pité je coupploie
Que ores chascun de vous me croie.
Je vous di de voir et sanz doute
Que cest arbre de pomier toute,
Tout son temps et tout son aage

3404 *fange*: mud or mire. Lat.: "sterquilinium" (71d). O.Fr.pr.: "en sa bord".
3405 Ms.: *Mes cun.*
3410 Ms.: *treve,* with *u* hyperscript between *e* and *v*, in what appears to be the same hand.
3415 Ms.: *dit*; and *men gassent.*

Fruit de pome porte sauvage
Et mauvés jusques orendroit.
Mes or le voi d'un autre endroit,
Car sa nature change et mue
Orendroit, en vostre venue
Et par la vertu et merite
Saint Magloire qui ci habite;
fol. 74*v* Par li douz fruit est devenu
Qui pour sauvage estoit tenu."

Quant Condan la nouvele oi,
De leesce est tout resjoi.
Toute l'arbre a avironnee
Et en cele part a trouvee
Qui le cors soutint et couvroit,
Ainsi conme Dieu i ouvroit,
Naturelment pomes meures
Et devers l'autre aigres et dures;
Les meures de soi cheoient
Et les sauvages fort tenoient.
Pour conf[e]rmer donques si grande
Vertu, chascun mengier conmande
Des unes et des autres pomes,
Sique ceus qui la furent homes
Et qui jamés seront a nestre
Le miracle puissent connestre.
Et des ce temps que cela vint,
Ainsi chascun an en avint
Tant con le pomier pot durer,
Que d'une part, sanz meurer,
Les pomes sauvages estoient
Et de l'autre part meuroient
fol. 75*r* Pomes soueves et debonnaires.
Ainsinc fruit de divers afaires
Porta — ce fu chose notoire —
Par la vertu de saint Magloire.
Merveilleuse chose est a dire
Que fist la pour li nostre Sire
Qu'en un arbre et d'une racine
Le fruit se diverse et devine;
Une racine l'arbre porte
Et le fruit dehors se transporte
[En] couleur, en goust, en nature:
C'est trop merveilleuse aventure.
Desqueles pomes, douces, dignes,
Furent fait asséz de granz signes

3461 Ms.: *conformer.*
3476-3484 Both the Latin text and the O. Fr. pr. omit this passage.
3483 Ms.: *Car couleur.*
3486 Ms.: *asses.*

Ou temps aprés ça en arriere,
Dieu ce faisant a la priere
Saint Magloire, car mainte gent
Que grief mal aloit assegent
Et qui longuement au lit jurent
De cors et de cuers gueriz furent.

Ces choses faites en la guise
Que cest escript le vous devise,
Li moine au leu dont departirent
Tout en pais de par Dieu venirent
fol. 75*v* Et avecq[ues] eus enporterent
Le tresor que tant desirierent,
Car il meismes les conduit
Sauvement et a sauf conduit.
Qui est donques celi qui doute
Que l'en ne doie honneur toute
Faire a saint Magloire et servise?
Qui a la voi[z] si a sa guise,
Si ferree, ne si aceree,
Ne langue si bien enparlee
Ne si courtoisement polie
Qui puisse, qui sache ne die
Que[l] cure il a en ceti monde
De ceux qui l'aiment de cuer monde,
Ne qui sache le guerredon
Ne le grant loier ne le don
Qu'i puet en paradis celestre
A ceus donner qui veulent estre
Touz jourz mes de sa compaignie
En ensuivant sa sainte vie,
Quant l'en voit et puet on savoir
Que a une arbre qui n'a savoir,
Sens ne raison dont entendoit
Et qui riens ne li demandoit
fol. 76*r* Donna de fruit tel benefice
Et pour l'amour, sanz plus di ce,
Que son cors soutint seulement?
Sachent donc touz que largement
A touz s'estent sa charité;
Essample en fist en verité
A l'arbre ou veust departir
Si grant grace a son departir.
Et pour ce que parfaitement
Tout je vous conclue et briement,
Au pomier fist absolte entiere
De l'offensse de Adam premiere

3497 Ms. lacks one syllable: *avecq.*
3504 Ms.: *voie.*
3527 Ms. hypermetric: *A larbre a ou veust departir.*

Quant u pomier pecha jadis,
Par coi il perdi paradis;
Puis l'arbre qui brehaingne estoit
Pour le pechié qui contrestoit
Absolt et donna porteure;
Et puis la sauvage nature
Qui fruit aigre naturelment
Portoit, mua visiblement
En douceur et saveur tres fine;
Et qu'au darrenier tout afine,
Sique chascun exampe i preigne
Et partout congnoissance en viegne,
fol. 76*v* Au[s] pomes qui furent tournees
En douceur, de maintes contrees
Li malade sain en devindrent
Et par la grace Dieu guerirent
Et par la grant misericorde
Saint Magloire, qui la s'acorde,
Santé en ces pomes trouverent
Et sains en leur païs tournerent.
Donques nous qui pecheurs sonmes
Et de pechiéz avons granz sonmes,
Dont nous trebuchons en la boe
De pechié qui touz nous enboe,
En voiz triste, en humilité,
Les suffrages de ta pité
Requerons, sire saint Magloire,
Que tu de nous aies memoire
Sique nous, qui avons senblance
De l'arbre sanz fructefiance
Et fruit n'avons de bon remors,
Mes ja sonmes pres touz que mors,
Des mauvestiéz et despechiéz,
Dont nous sonmes si entechiéz,
Par ta misericorde et grace
Du juge la crueuse face,
fol. 77*r* Qui par sa sentence donnee
Sus nous a levé la congniee
Pour ferir et meitre ensement
Nos ames a condempnement,
Puissons si le cop eschiver
Qu'a nos ames ne puist grever;
Et que l'aigreur et l'amertume
De nostre ancienne coustume
Ou vescu avons folement
Nous veulliéz oster doucement,

3547-8 Faulty rhyme.
3566 Ms.: *si* hyperscript in what appears to be the same hand.
3573 Ms.: initial *e* of *eschiver* hyperscript.
3575 Ms.: *lamertune.*

Et ceste amertume tourner,
3580 Par douceur vraie, et aorner
De sainte conversacion
Par tel nueuve conversion,
Si con a l'arbre vosiz faire
3584 Qui estoit de sauvage afaire
Et qui sens n'avoit ne entente,
Sire, ausinc ta grace consente
Que de nos pechiéz trespasséz
3588 Et des presens, dont a asséz,
Puissons sauvement eschaper
Les laz qui nous veulent haper;
Et puis le travail et la paine
3592 Du monde feni qui nous paine,
fol. 77*v* Des pechiéz qui sus nous aperent
Et nostre dampnacion quierent
Et contre nous sont estrivanz,
3596 Qu'en la region des vivanz
A toi sanz nul enpeeschement
Soions joinz pardurablement.
Jhesucrist l'ostroit, nostre Sire,
3600 Duquel la loenge et l'empire
Sanz fin est ne ne cessera,
Mes ainsi fu, est et sera.
Dit vous ai dont et raporté
3604 Conment saint Magloire aporté
Fu de Sarge en Bretaigne a port ;
Bon et glorieus fu l'aport
Ceus qui de la le transporterent
3608 Glorieus tresor aporterent.
Or li prions que si porter
Nous doint qu'en la fin transporter
A Dieu nous doint, qui la nous porte
3612 Et du ciel nous o[uvr]e la porte.

[D'un home qui des la ventre sa mere estoit contré et par la sugestion du beneoit confesseur, saint Martin, il fu envoié a saint Magloire pour guerir].

fol. 78*r* Aprés grant temps que saint Magloire
Pour sa bonté monta en gloire
Et deservi ot cele vie
3616 Que li monz donner ne puet mie,
Entre les miracles et signes

3579 Ms.: *amertune.*

3603 Ms.: *ai* hyperscript, in what appears to be the same hand.

3612 Ms.: *Et du ciel nous oruste la porte.*

3613 Although the ms. starts a new chapter here, embellishing the *A* of *Apres* in a miniature, the rubric *D'un home... pour guerir is* missing; it is here taken from the O.Fr.pr.

Qu'en terre fist nobles et dignes
Li filz d'un home qui lors ere
Boiteus du ventre de sa mere
Sain, sanz humaine medecine,
Rendi par la pité devine;
Mes conment n'en quele maniere
Remede ot de salut entiere,
N'en quel(e) guise la pot avoir
A vous me plait faire a savoir.
Lors en Touraine avoit un home
Et, ainsi con l'escript le nonme,
Nez fu de l'eveschié de Tours;
Et la estoit touz ses retours
Pour [ce] que homs de l'eglise avecque
Fu du tres glorieus evesque
fol. 78*v* Saint Martin. Cilz homs longuement
En un lit just mout povrement
En langueur en tele maniere
Que piéz et cuisses par derriere
Au dos ensamble joinz li furent
Ne d'ainsi grant temps ne se murent.
Dont pour sa grant grieté parent,
Son pere et si autre parent
Qui si contrefait le veoient
Dedenz l'eglise le portoient
Saint Martin, souvent et menu,
Sique de par Dieu souvenu
Li fu de sa grief maladie
A la priere et a l'aie
De saint Martin le glorieus.
Mes cilz de son mal anuieus
Guarison n'i a receu,
Et quant si parent ont veu
Que sa santé tant li esloigne
Qu'i attendoient la besoigne
Estre faite par la merite
De saint Martin et franche et quitte,
Et que santé li fust rendue, —
Mes se heure n'estoit pas venue, —
fol. 79*r* De leenz en ce point l'osterent
Et a l'eglise le porterent
Saint Hylaire, jadis evesques
De Poitiers. Puis aprés d'ilecques,
Puis ça, puis la en maintes guises
Porté l'ont par maintes eglises
Pour savoir et pour esprouver
Quele santé porroit trouver.
Et quant il orent tout ce fait

3634 Ms. reads *vist* for *just.*

3636 Ms.: *derrieres*, with *s* deleted by dot.

Et il voient que, pour ce fait,
Riens ne vint a prosperité,
N'a voloir, n'a utilité,
Tristes a l'ostel retournerent;
Puis arrieres le raporterent
A saint Martin, conme devant,
Sanz guarison apercevant.

En la fin, asséz tot aprés,
Le pere au filz, qui fu la pres
En l'eglise, son filz veilla
Con cil qui mout se merveilla
Que saint Martin en ce n'ouvroit
Et que santé ne recouvroit;
Tant pensa et tant li ennuie
Qu'il ne set a quel saint il fuie
fol. 79*v* Pour guerir ceste maladie,
Et ja du tout il se deffie.
En ce pensse[e] ou il estoit
Que a soi meismes contrestoit,
Endormiz s'est dedenz l'eglise;
Lors saint Martin qui le ravise
En pité li apert en some
Et dit li a: "He! He! fol home!
Pour coi m'apeles ne ne cries?
Pour coi m'excites ne ne pries
Pour donner a ton fil santé
Qui ceenz gist en orfenté?
Sui je Dieu qui le puisse rendre?
Nennil! Pour ce veilles entendre
A ce que te di et ensaigne.
Pren ton chemin droit en Bretaigne
Et va tant, ne d'aler ne faignes
Jusqu'atant qu'a l'eglise viegne
De saint Magloire proprement,
Car de Dieu a certainement
Le don, le pooir et la grace
Que ton fil saint et sauf te face.
Dieu l'en i a doné l'afaire
Siqu'[a] autre saint ne le puet faire".
fol. 80*r* Quant il ot oi, si s'esveille.
De la vision se merveille,
Mais l'endemain s'est deschargié,
Car a l'evesque et au clergié
A tout ce dit et raconté
Que saint Martin li ot conté.

3673 Ms.: *loste.*
3688 His mind, which contradicted itself.
3694 Ms.: *me excites.*
3701-2 Faulty rhyme.

Quant li evesques oit la chose,
Lors l'amoneste et li propose
Que tantost, sanz dilacion,
Selonc cel[e] amonicion
Qui faite li avoit esté,
Que plus ne feust aresté,
Mes droit alast a saint Magloire,
Car celi — c'estoit chose voire —
Qui la vision li ot fait
Le convoieroit en ce fait;
Qui li apparut en dormant
La droit le menroit sanz tormant.
Et adonc cilz ilnelement,
Avecques son filz proprement
Et ses parenz qu'ilec avoit
Qui du chemin rien ne savoit,
Tout droit, si con le vent le maine
Assez legierement sanz paine,
fol. 80*v* Sanz soi tourner ne ça ne la
Droit en Bretaigne s'adresca,
Con se le chemin bien seut
Et pluseurs foiz hanté l'eut,
Jusqu'a saint Magloire est venu.
Si est de touz pour voir tenu
Ce que dit li ot li evesques,
Car saint Martin touz jourz avecques
Ceus fu, qui droit les amena
A saint Magloire et assena.
Et quant la fu par tele guise,
L'abbé et les clers de l'eglise
Li encerchent par quel maniere
Ne pour coi leenz venuz iere.
Et cilz leur dit conmunement
Les granz paines que longuement
Pour son fil avoit enduré
Du mal dont il n'estoit curé;
Et puis leur a fait mencion
Qu'au derrenier en vision
Saint Martin par conmandement
Dit li ot que ça droitement
Venist, se guerison voloit
Du mal dont son filz se doloit:
fol. 81*r* "Et pour sa guerison avoir
Sui ci, ce vous faz a savoir."

3718 Ms.: *Selonc ce la monicion.*
3734 Ms.: *sadreca* with *s* hyperscript between *e* and *c*, probably in the same hand.
3735 Ms.: *Conm.*
3736 Ms.: *Et pluseurs "hante leut foiz".*

Lors cil qui oient la nouvelle,
Qui mout leur fu joieuse et bele,
Le fil offrirent en memorie
Devant l'autel de saint Magloire;
Et nostre Seigneur par prieres
Requistrent en maintes manieres
Que, la tres grant devocion
Du pere, consolacion
Feust au filz qui la estoit
Du grant mal qui le contrestoit.
Or avint que cele journee
Que leenz firent leur entree
Fu le mardi de Rouvaisons,
Que letainie(s) et oroisons
L'en fait devant l'Ascension;
En ce jour de devocion,
Que li abbes chantoit la messe
Ou de clers et (de) pueple ot grant presse.
En celi point adroitement
Ou le cors et sanc proprement
Est consacréz de Jhesucrist,
Selonc foi et selonz escript,
fol. 81*v* Ainz que la pais feust donnee
Parmi l'eglise ne portee,
Les jambes, les piéz ensement
Du malade angoisseusement,
Si fort a trambler conmencierent
Que toutes genz s'en merveillerent;
Et pou a pou cuisses ensamble
L'une de l'autre se dessamble.
Les cuisses, qui ça en arriere
Jointes au dos furent derriere,
Pou a pou [si] se departirent
Que touz ceus qui la furent virent, —
Qui de la furent et de ça, —
Que li malades se dreça;
Mes paines, doleurs si l'enpoindrent,
Quant arriers les menbres se joindrent
Et revindrent a leur jointure,
De la grant paine qu'il endure,
Que de cela et de l'angoisse
Qui ses antrailles si angoisse,
Qu'en haut crioit: He! saint Magloire,
Aiez, sire, de moi memoire.
Secourz moi, Sire Jhesucrist,
Que je n'i muire, si griement
fol. 82*r* Tu me hurtes, mes ne deboutes
Mes prieres, mes les escoute."
Et il si fist sanz plus attendre

3771 Rouvainsons = Rogations; cf. Godefroy, VII, 253.

3808 Et sain en estant le va rendre;
Dont ceus, qui en estant le virent,
En plorant graces en rendirent
A Dieu qui par la grant merite
3812 Celi en cors et esperite
Sain rendi, et alant par voie
S'en orent touz et chascun joie.
Car l'andemain cele journee,
3816 Qui vegile estoit apelee
De l'Ascension, nostre Sire,
Par sa pité, qui li fu mire,
Avecques l'intercession
3820 Saint Magloire a procession
Ala sanz grief et sanz moleste,
Et sollempnité fist et feste
Avec la gent conmunement,
3824 Tant fu gueri entierement.
Dont touz ceus qui ce regarderent
A Dieu grant loange et donnerent
En la guise et en la maniere,
3828 Conme jadis, ça en arriere,
fol. 82*v* Fu fait, si con Lucas argue,
Quant Jhesucrist donna veue
A cil qui onques n'ot veu;
3832 La par l'evvangile est seu
Que tout le pueple a Dieu loenge
Donna, quant vit tel fait estrange
Con d'un non-veant veoir faire.
3836 Par tel maniere et exemplaire
Firent ceus, quant au voir parller,
Qui celui virent droit aler
Par la devine majesté
3840 Qui onques sus piéz n'ot esté.
En ce leu — c'est en l'abbaie —
Ou cil malades, par l'aie
Saint Magloire ot santé eu,
3844 De troiz anz ne s'est pas meu,
Et li abbés, la pour son vivre
Ce que mestier li est, li livre
De ce qu'il ot temporelment;
3848 D'autre part, esperituelment
L'enseigna de Dieu honorer
Et de touz jourz mes demorer
Au voloir Dieu et au servise,
3852 Et qu'au ciel sa penssee ait mise
fol. 83*r* Vers Dieu, et de dit et de fait,
Qui l'a restabli et refait.

3832 Ms.: *est* hyperscript in corrector's hand.

Puis que trois anz ot demouré
3856 En ce lieu et Dieu honouré,
L'abbés li a dit qu'il s'atourne
Et qu'en son païs s'en retourne;
Congié li donne qu'il s'apreiste.
3860 D'autre partie, l'amoneste
Des benefices saint Magloire
Que touz jourz les ait en memoire
Par lesquiex Diex a si ouvré
3864 Que sa santé a recouvré.
Lorz cilz de l'abbé se depart,
En son païs vint d'autre part
Non pas boiteus, mes esdreciéz
3868 Et joianz et eeleetiéz,
Par les voies, par les sentiers
Droiz et de ses menbres entiers,
[N]on malades, mes viguereus,
3872 Liéz et non mie dolereus,
Forz et sains et reconfortéz;
En lit ne fut pas aportéz,
A son pié vint non pas clochant.
3876 Et quant il vint en aprochant
fol. 83*v* De saint Martin la grant eglise,
Li pueples par conmune enprise:
Clers, laïs, homes, fames vindrent
3880 Encontre et quant cil aler vidrent,
C'umques aler n'orent veu,
Trop grant merveille en ont eu,
Car touz et ou chascun savoit
3884 Que jusqu'a lors alé n'avoit.
Adonc li clerc les sains sonnerent,
Li autre *te Deum* chanterent
Et touz li pueples ensement
3888 Dieu en loa devotement.
Aussinc l'en devons nous loer,
Car il est touz jourz a loer.
Or l'en loons, car je le los;
3892 A li doit on donner le los.

Conment saint Magloire resuscita le portier de l'abbaie aprés son trespassement.

Mainte(s) merveilleuse(s) aventure(s)
Trueve l'en par l'escripture(s)
fol· 84*r* De ce glorieus saint Magloire
3896 Qu'en terre fist — ce doit on croire —
En son temps glorieusement

3871 Ms.: *A on.*
3879-80 Faulty rhyme.

Ouquel con lampe clerement
Il reluit. Dont ceste journee,
Ou est sa feste celebree,
Devant touz je vous en veil dire
Ce qu'ai peu en escript lire;
D'un miracle dire m'avance.
Et ja soit ce que d'ordenance
Desrrenierement le vous die,
Si va il devant et maistrie
Par vertu et par digneté.
Aprés ce que d'umanité
Saint Magloire ot paié treu
E q'u ciel il fu esleu
Des anges en la compaignie
Ou il a pardurable vie,
Un joine home de trois jourz mort
A vie ramena de mort
Par la devine majesté,
Mais conment ce fu n'a esté
fol. 84*v* Briement le vous veil reveler
Jadis l'en soloit apeler
Ce joine home Thaneloguen
Et son pere ot non Doithloguen,
Et Habretdoguen fu nonmee
Sa mere; et de cele contree
Furent et homes de l'eglise,
Si conme l'escript le devise.
Quant nuef anz ot Tanethloguen,
Doithloguen et Habrethloguen,
Ses parens, en ce temps le prirent
Et a l'abbaie l'offrirent;
Dons et luminaires donnerent
Et la simplement le voerent
Pour l'uis de l'eglise garder.
Et se l'en povoit regarder
Qu'en ce leu se fust bien menéz,
Que plus haut feust assenéz
Es offices de l'abbaie,
Ou eust quelque seignorie
Entre les moines de leenz.
Et ce fist il, eus touz veanz,
Car jusqu'a sa vintieme annee,
Sanz mesfaire de chose nee,
fol. 85*r* Avecques eus vesqui bonement.
Mes adonc le prist droitement
Si grief mal, si fort maladie
Que lors plus vivre ne pot mie;
Si grant douleur adonc le prist
Que rendre li couvint l'esperit.

3921 The O.Fr.pr. calls him *Habrethloguen*; cf. line 3926.

Et quant ses parenz mort le seurent,
Mout dolanz et courrouciéz feurent;
Ce qu'a mort faut appar[ei[llierent,
Puis le cors en biere poserent
Et aprés, con desconforté,
Droit au sepulchre l'ont porté
Saint Magloire le glorieus.
Lors la mere de cuer et de iex
Crie et brait et bat sa poitrine
Et treces et cheveus descrine;
Ses mamelles veust esrachier
Et sa robe ronpre et sachier
Sa char mort devant et derriere,
Si con el va aprés la biere.
Puis dit: Las ! Las ! He fame dure,
Plaine ies bien de mal aventure,
Car veuve [e]s d'un enfant qu'avoies !
Lasse, or n'ira il plus par voies;
fol. 85*v* J'esperoie qu'il deust vivre
Aprés moi. Or en sui delivre,
Que un fil n'avions seulement
Pour confort et deportement;
Or l'a pris la mort par envie.
Aprés ce, que me veust ma vie ?
Certes nient ! Terre, or m'escoute !
Euvre ta bouche et si m'engloute !
Engloute moi tretoute vive,
Car bien me plait que plus ne vive;
Entre les morz fai ma demeure,
Car ci vivre trop me demeure."
Lors au sepulchre saint Magloire,
De courrouz toute tainte et noire,
Courant s'en va grant aleure
Con mere de bone nature;
Ses mains estraint serreement
Et des iex pleure amerement.
Devant touz hautement s'escrie,
Si con fist la fame a Helie
Pour son enfant resusciter
Jadis, et ce veust reciter
Des Rois tout droit en ce tierz livre
Qui le escript devin nous livre.
Tout ainsi cria ceste mere,
Qui u cuer dedenz fu amere,
A saint Magloire et se conplaint
Et ainsi proposa son plaint:
"Saint Magloire, pour coi chargiee

3947 Ms.: *surent* with *e* hyperscript in a corrector's hand between *s* and *u*.
3960 Ms.: *conm*.
3963 Ms.: *Car veuves dun enfant quavoies*.

As si ceste maleuree
Que son fil tu li as osté
3996 Que mis avoit a ton osté
De son gre pour faire servise
Du tout a toi et a t'eglise?
Un seul m'en avoit Diex donné
4000 Que je t'avoie abandonné;
Je le t'avoie, sire, offert.
Pour coi tollir le m'as souffert?
fol. 86r Se je donne ne le t'eusse,
4004 Par aventure encor l'eusse
Et chiez moi, en ma mesonnete
Qui povre est asséz et estrete,
Feust vif a ceste journee
4008 Et d'une petite bouchee
Chiez moi preist sa soutenance;
La s'orveille voi en presence.
He! saint Magloire, sire et mestre,
4012 Pour coi ne me voléz connestre?
Pour coi avéz vous remenbrance
De mes pechiéz ne souvenance?
Pour coi m'estoupes tes oreilles
4016 Qui tiex doleurs ai que pareilles
N'ot mere? Et pour le tien sergent,
Las! il ne n'est [pas] mes sergent.
Sire, pour coi de moi t'esloignes
4020 En mes meschiez, en mes besoignes?
Pour coi te taiz et te repoz
De moi qui n'ai bien ne repoz?
Pour coi n'as tu de moi pité?
4024 Sire, bien sai — c'est verité —
Et sainte eglise voirement
Le set partout conmunement:
Jhesucrist, Dieu qui te forma,
4028 U ciel devant toi ta forme a
Et avec les sains lieement
Es et regnes sanz finement;
Et Dieu vous d'amour enbrasee
4032 Et si est t'ame enluminee
De luniere si clere et pure
Que dire ne puet creature.
Et connois et goustes et sez, —
4036 Par coi te saoules asséz, —
Dieu ou ciel et voiz face a face;
Mes, pour ce, ne mes en espace
Ceste povre ne ne desprise
4040 Qui perdue est et entreprise.
fol. 86v Mes te requier que ne mes tardes

3996 Ms. has *an* instead of *a*.
4020 Ms.: *En mes mes meschiez.*

Et mon meschief et paine esgardes;
A ma doleur veilles entendre
Et mon enfant saint et sauf rendre;
Et se de toi ce ne pués faire,
Vers les amis Dieu veilles traire:
Les apostres de Dieu deprie
Et les sains martirs en aide
Qui pour Dieu leur sanc espandirent
Et griez morz et tormenz soufrirent.
Et de touz sains la compaignie,
Requier la, siqu'ele t'aide,
Liquiex de par Dieu tant ouvrerent
Que les morz jadis susciterent.
Requier les touz generaument
Qu'avec toi especiaument
Leur priere puist tant ouvrer
Que son fil puisse recouvrer
Ceste lasse, povre et chetive
Ou que desormés plus ne vive."
Et quant la mere ainsinc plaignoit
Son fil et son mal conplaignoit,
Non pas le pueple seulement,
Mes les moines conmunement,
A en tel doleur esmeu
Que de pité qu'il ont eu
Le servise de mort qu'il disoient
Pour pleurs et soupirs delaissoient.
Ainsin[c] cele son fil plouroit
Et pour li saint Magloire ouvroit.

Liquel fiz, quant fu trespassé,
Li siens esperiz a passé
Par mains leus et a sain conduit,
Car un ange la le conduit,
Si com il en dit verité.
Puis, aprés qu'il fu suscité,
Les secréz et les manssions
De diversses condicions
fol. 87r Li des ciex moustra clerement,

4047-8 Faulty rhyme.
4051-2 Faulty rhyme.
4061 Ms.: *ainsint.*
4064 Ms.: *communement.*
4067 Ms.: *servise au mort.*

4071-4151 The poet has greatly expanded this passage from the original. The O.Fr.pr. merely reads: "Et fu ainsi fet que comme en le portast hors de l'église pour enfoir et il furent devant les portes de l'églyse il fu restabli a la vie si comme devant par la vertu du ciel. Et comme l'esperit entra en son cors par la vertu devine, les membres qui estoient devant morz commencierent a revivre et quant cil qui le portoient a leur espaules sentirent que li vivoit et que la biere flotoit ca et la, il osterent et le mistrent a terre" (54b).

Et la les sains si grandement
Vit reluire en honeur et gloire
Que nul cuer ne le porroit croire,
Si conme saint Pol, en l'escript
De ses apostres, le nous descript
Ou il dit que oel ne puet veoir,
Oreille oir, cuer ne porreoit
Ne ne puet monter en pensee,
Des bons la some appar[ei]lliee,
La joie, la grace et l'onneur
Ceus qui aiment nostre Seigneur.

Et puis qu'il ot ce regardé,
L'ange ne s'est pas plus tardé,
Mes de paradis le maine outre
Et le leu d'enfer li demoustre,
Ou les pecheeurs par parties
Faisoient pluseurs compaignies.
La vit les anemis ester,
Aler, venir et arrester
Qui les pecheeurs tormentoient
Et tant de tormenz leur faisoient
Que a la conparaison des sains,
Qu'en paradis vit saus et sains,
fol. 87*v* Li pecheour tormenz sanz conte
Orent plus griez et paine et honte.
Tant de tormenz a la veu
Qu'il ne porroit estre seu
Ne de voiz d'ome ne de bouche,
N'il n'est langue qui si bien touche,
Ne oil qui voit si isnelement
Que dire en puet l'ordenement.
L'ordenement ! Mes le desordre,
Car en enfer n'a il nul ordre,
Mes horreur et duel sanz finance.
Et se celi n'eust fiance
En l'ange qui le soutenoit
Et deportoit et demenoit,
Du regart sanz plus des granz paines
Dont les mesons d'enfer vit plaines
Sus les chetiz peche[e]eurs las,
Ja n'eust eschapé les las
Du feu d'enfer qu'il vit parant;
Mes li anges li fu garant
Par s'aide qui le retourne
Con courroucié et triste et mourne.
Et au retour leur vint encontre
Saint Martin qui lors les encontre,

4085-6 Faulty rhyme.
4108 Ms.: *A il.*

fol. 88*r* Et maintenant, sanz outre aller,
Doucement s'est mis a parller
A l'ange et dit en tel maniere:
"Saint Magloires a fait priere
Pour cest home a nostre Sire
Qui pas ne l'a volu desdire,
Mes li veust tenir couvenant
Sique cest esperit maintenant
A son cors mort soit restabli
Jusqu'au temps qu'il a establi
Qu'il viegne a resolucion."
Lors l'ange, a l'amonicion
Que saint Martin li a conmis,
U cors vint, a l'ame remis
C'umques n'i fist plus grant demeure.
Et ce fu tout a point a l'eure
Qu'ensevelir le cors portoient;
Et ja hors de l'eglise estoient
Ceus, quant le cors tourna a vie
Au voloir Dieu qui ce ostrie
A saint Magloire. Si reçurent
Vie les menbres qui mors furent.
Et quant ceus qui le cors porterent
Sentent qu'en alant chancelerent
fol. 88*v* Et par devant et par derriere,
A terre ont mis tantost la biere
Pour savoir que ce povoit estre.
Et Diex leur fist tantost connestre,
Car cil qui en la biere estoit,
Que tant la mere regretoit,
La haire avec le drap ensamble
Dont sevelis fu, ce me samble,
Despieça et puis va retraire
Desus sa teste son suaire;
Et se desclot et se desserre,
Puis de la biere saut a terre.
Sain et sauf a touz se desclere
Dont il en loe Dieu le Pere
Et puis la sainte Trinité
Par quel aide est suscité.
Lors tout le pueple se merveille
Du miracle et de la merveille;
Et qui nous porroit dont descrire
Ne raconter aussinc ne dire
La tres grant admiracion
De ceste suscitacion
Que ceus orent qui la estoient,
Ne les granz graces qu'il rendoient
fol. 89*r* Les moines de cele abbaie.

4138 Ms.: *la momicion* with the last stroke of the second *m* deleted by dot.

4176 Quant celi voient estre en vie
Qu'i voloient en terre metre
Et con poudre a poudre conmetre
Et cendre ausinques rendre a cendre,
4180 Sens d'ome ne porroit conprendre
Les granz graces la recitees
A Dieu tout premier et donnees,
Et puis aprés a saint Magloire;
4184 Et pour ce fait, ce dit l'estoire,
Dont si grant fu la renonmee,
Maintes citéz, mainte contree
Ou ce miracle estoit notoire,
4188 A offrande et a luminaire,
Lors saint Magloire visitoient
Et ausinques veoir venoient,
Et par amour et par pité,
4192 Cil qui estoit resuscité;
Et a Dieu loange estoit faite
Qui de tel grace et si parfaite
Saint Magloire avoit honouré.
4196 Puis en aprés a demouré
Cilz suscitéz an cele eglise
Lonc temps et l'ont mis u servise
fol. 89*v* Pour faire la penneterie;
4200 Et tant la fist en l'abbaie,
Con dispenssateur bon et sage,
Que il morut de grant aage.

En ce miracle recité
4204 Que j'ai dit d'un resuscité,
Apert tout manifestement
Que l'ange au conmandement
Saint Martin remist u cors l'ame.
4208 Si en porroit faire aucun[e] ame
Demande conment ce puet estre,
Car li anges ont Dieu leur mestre;
Devant li sont et obeissent
4212 Et sanz sa volenté hors n'issent.
Diex les envoie pour noncier
Ce qu'a gent il veust denoncier,
Si con tesmoigne l'escripture.
4216 Conment donc ne par quel nature
Tesmoigne l'ange et a gehi
Qu'a saint Martin il obei,
De son gre et a esciant,
4220 En ce mort revivifiant?

4193 Ms.: *dieu "estoit" loange.*

4202 The poet omits here the description of the appearance of the angel, which follows in the O.Fr.pr. (54d-55a), but has already occurred in the poem (4071-4151). Lines 4202 to 4342 seem to be the poet's own addition, not based on any model contained in the O.Fr.pr.

Mes qui la Bible cercheroit
Asséz de telz faiz trouveroit;
fol. 90*r* En *Genesy* le pués savoir.
Jacob si vost d'un ange avoir
Beneiçon, quant ot luité,
Lors qu'ancor estoit nuitié.
Et l'ange li dit: "Laisse moi!
L'aube est. Plus estre avec moi
Ne puéz." Lors Jacob va parler
Qu'il ne le laisseroit aler
Jusqu'atant qu'il ait benei.
Ainsinc a plain desobei
Home a ange ne ne vost faire
Ce que ange conmanda a faire;
Ainz se soumist et s'adonna
Ange a home qu'a li donna
La beneiçon qu'il queroit.
Et qui bien estudieroit
En *Josue*, la c'est la some,
Nostre Sire obei a home.
L'escripture dit en ce livre,
Quant li Juif franc et delivre
Le fleuve furent Jordain passéz
Et mains orent morz et casséz
En terre de promission,
Et prise mainte region
fol. 90*v* Tout environ par fait de guerre,
Lors cinc rois d'Amorce terre
Contre eus vindrent en bataille,
Mes de Dieu, qui ne leur fist faille,
Josue sus eus ot victoire.
Mes pour ce, si con dit l'estoire
Qui [conte,] que tout sanz sejour
Ne les poist tuer de jour,
A son dit et conmandement
Soleil et lune fermement
U point ou furent demourerent
Ne d'un jour plain ne s'abesserent.
Soleil, lune ne remua
Jusqu'atant que touz les tua;
Si lonc jour, si longue journee
Ne fu, ne iert jamés trouvee.
Vez ci donc manifestement
Que Dieu obei proprement
A ce que l'ome conmanda
Et que le sergent demanda;
Cilz fist qui Sire(s) est des estoilles.

4226 Ms.: *anuite.*
4239 Ms.: *En Jofne.*

Ce sont merveilleuses nouvelles!
Et quant Diex tel subjection
Fist a home en la region
fol. 91*r* Du monde ça aval estrange,
Ce n'est pas merveilles se l'ange
Obei saint Martin jadis
Qui saint estoit en paradis.

En deuz miracles dit devant,
Voit on chascun apercevant
Que saint Martin conme message,
Et conme conpains du message,
Fu du boiteus alant par voie;
Et de ce mort, cui Diex envoie
Vie, saint Martin le propose
Et saint Magloire le propose;
Saint Martin dit et sainte Magloire
Fait la parole Martin voire.
Par coi l'en doit apercevoir
Qu'il furent conpaignons de voir
En terre jadis longuement
Et, conbien que corporelment
Loign l'un de l'autre demourassent
N'ausinc l'un chiez l'autre n'alassent,
Toutesvois en religion,
En ferveur, en devocion,
En vegiles et en jeunes
Leurs penssees estoient unes.
fol. 91*v* En prieres, en penitance,
En pitié et en patience,
En la char batre en mainte guise
En en deffendant sainte eglise,
En contre Sathan, l'aversaire,
D'un cuer furent et d'un afaire;
Et ainsinc en faire miracles,
Com ensaner demoniacles
Et avugles faire veoir
Et es povres genz pourveoir,
En faisant les boiteus aller
Et les muéz aussinc parler,
Les sours oir, les morz revivre,
Conpaignons furent et d'un vivre.
Diex les conjoint sanz departie
Ci et en pardurable vie
Qui tout fait et qui tout ordene,
Et duquel la grant bonté plaine,
La grace et la benignité,
Tout ausint conme en unité
De pais ça aval les acorde

4275 Ms.: *E en.*

Et les assamble sanz descorde.
Aussinc u ciel la les assamble
Et les acorde et met ensamble
fol. 92*r* En faisant miracles et signes
Au sauvement du monde dignes,
Desquiex l'amour, la charité
Qu'au monde orent sanz vanité,
Et la grant gloire avec l'onneur
Q'u ciel ont par nostre Seigneur,
Nous soit contre nos aversaires
Force et aide et exemplaires,
Et don de vie pardurable
Et joie sanz fin parmenable
Par l'aide de Dieu qui donne
A ses feaus et abandonne
Ses tres granz [dons] tres largement
Et donrra sanz definement.
A li fait bon requerre don,
Car il fait plus grant guerredon
Que l'en ne desert a donner;
Ainsinques se veust adonner
Qui les bienfaiz plus guerredonne
Que leur merite ne le donne.
Si li prions que si pardoint
Que touz nos pechiéz nous pardoint
Et en aprés ceti pardon
Nous otroit sa gloire par don. Amen.

fol. 92*v* De l'eschiele qui fu demoustree a .i. moine qui avoit non Gui ou moustier saint Magloire.

De tant con vienent a memoire
Les granz vertuz de saint Magloire
Par ceus qui de voir le tesmoignent,
De tant plus fort au cuer m'espoignent
Et plus m'esforcent de retraire;
Ne ne m'en veil ne doi retraire.
Dont pour l'amour premierement
Saint Magloire, puis ensement
Pour les requestes et prieres
Que tant souvent me font les freres
Que ne veil mettre en oubliance,
Ma rudece ne m'ignorance
En ce kas ne proposerai,
Ainçois obeissanz serai
Et pour l'amour de charité

4336 Ms.: *veut* with *s* hyperscript in second hand between *u* and *t*.
4342 Ms.: *pardon.*
4352 Ms.: *mi.*

De ses faiz dirai verité.
Et miex aim plus rudetement
4360 Parler et mains orneement
fol. 93*r* Que les granz faiz de cel saint honme,
Conment que ce soit, ne vous nonme;
Si vous en veil un reciter
4364 Qui a touz pueent profiter
Plain de grant admiracion.
Et ce fu d'une vision
Que Diex moustra an l'abbaie
4368 A un frere de sainte vie,
Puis que de Sarge transporté
Fu en Bretaigne et aporté
En l'abbaie de Lehon, —
4372 Cil que par delectacion
Et pour le bien qui y abonde
Est ainsi apeléz u monde.
Ouquel leu si delicieus
4376 Les sains homes religieus,
Les autres mis en oubliance,
Venoient faire demourance;
Et par rigle et ordre vivoient
4380 Et con chevalliers conbatoient
Au monde, a la char et au deable
D'une bataille merveillable.

[E]ntre lesquiex un Gui nonméz,
4384 De toutes vertuz renonméz,
fol. 93*v* Et qui les autres seurmonté
Sambloit avoir par sa bonté
En desciplines, en pacience
4388 Et aussinques en obedience;
Dieu soufrant, cheit en une fievre
Laquele si forment l'agrieve
Qu'i samble qu'il fenist sa vie.
4392 Lors fu ravi en extasie
Et le secré Dieu a pleu.
Une eschiele d'or a veu
Tres grant, eslevee et hautaine,
4396 De biauté ausinc souveraine,
Si con issoit du vestiaire,
En montant touz jourz sanz retraire
Jusques au ciel. Et cele eschiele
4400 Degréz d'or i(l) ot en laquele

4364 Ms.: *puent* with *e* hyperscript in same hand between *u* and *e*.
4372 Ms.: *Cil quel.*
4374 Ms.: *ce* deleted by two dots, and *u* hyperscript in a corrector's hand.
4383 The ms. leaves a space for the capital E, but the letter has not been filled in.
4389-90 Faulty rhyme.
4390 Ms.: *La si forment la grieve*, with *quele* hyperscript.

Et precieuses pierres maintes
Et genmes ausinques enpraintes
Parmi les eschielons disperses
4404 De couleurs riches et diverses.

Quant il ot penssé longuement
De l'eschiele l'ordenement,
L'or et les pierres precieuses
4408 Et les euvres si gracieuses,
fol. 94*r* La biauté avec la noblesce,
La grant valeur et la richesce
Et qu'en venoit, sanz mesconter,
4412 Degré jusques au ciel monter
Assez tost et legierement,
Lors entour soi soudainement
Vit homes tres resplendissanz.
4416 Et ja soit ce qu'esbahissanz
Feust de leur clarté grandement,
Pour ce qu'il voloit vraiement
Savoir quel chose avoit veu,
4420 De parler ne s'est pas teu,
Ainçois de cele vision
Leur demande exposicion;
De cele eschiele sagement
4424 Leur requiert senefiement.
Lors ceus li ont responsse fait:
"Freres, verité est ce fait,
Que tu as veu, non pas fable
4428 De ceste eschiele merveillable;
Cel[e] eschiele que voiz doree
Saint Magloire l'a enpetree
Par ses merites et prieres,
4432 Sique ceus, qui ça en arrieres
fol. 94*v* Ceenz vivront devotement,
En joie pardurablement
Par ceste eschiele monteront
4436 Et avec les anges seront
En joie sanz fin et en gloire
Par les merites saint Magloire."

Adonc le moine qui ot joie
4440 A l'eschiele desouz s'apoie,
Et puis d'amont monter s'esforce;
Et ceus qui ont veu sa force
Li ont contredit doucement:
4444 "Frere, suefre toi bonnement,
Car ores ci ne monteras,
Mes de par Dieu retourneras

4429 Ms.: *Celeschiele.*

Par nous, qui ça t'avons mené,
En ton leu. Diex l'a ordené;
Et tout ce que tu as veu
Par toi sera amenteu
A tes freres entierement.
Et aprés ce certainement
Nous te ramenrrons ci arriere
Et monteras a lie(e) chiere
Par ceste eschiele au ciel ou regne
Diex sanz fin ou celestiel regne;
fol. 95r Et la beneureement
Monteras sanz enpeeschement."

[E]ntrementres que [ce] faisoient
Ceus qui entour le cors seoient —
C'est les moines de l'abbaie
Qui disoient leur psalmodie
Et l'ame conmander voloient,
Si conme a coustume l'avoient,
Et puis metre le cors en biere
Et enterrer a triste chiere —
Le moine esmouvoir regarderent,
Lequel estre ja mort cuiderent.
Quant la grant vertu si soudaine
Li moine virent, nus que a paine
Leur grant joie ne porroit dire;
A Dieu puissant, le nostre Sire,
Qui de vivre li donne espace
En ont rendue mainte grace
Ne de plorer ne se povoient
Tenir de joie qu'il avoient.
Puis cilz quant li fu revenu,
Si con desus est contenu,
Au(s) freres touz sanz demouree
La vision a racontee;
fol. 95v En pleurs et en conpunction,
De l'eschiele la vision
Leur dit et des degréz doréz
Dont Diex fu de touz honoréz.
Quant la vision ot dité
A touz ensamble et recité
Qui a chascun fu merveillable
Et puis a pluseurs profitable,
Cil qui fu de la departie
Liéz de cele mortele vie
Et joie ot de ce qu'il la laisse
Et certains fu de la promesse
Que li ange li orent fait,

4459 Ms.: *Dntrementres que faisoient.*

Les freres de bouche et de fait
A Dieu conmande et cors a terre,
4496 Et la seue ame monte en l'erre
A celi qui de riens l'ot faite
U ciel en la gloire parfaite;
Par l'eschielle d'or i monta
4500 Cil qui le monde seurmonta.
Pour ce le vost Diex la monter
Qui le monde vost seurmonter;
Jhesucrist qui set que ce monte
4504 Doint que pechié ne nous seurmonte,
fol. 96*r* Car se l'ame en est seurmontee,
Ja ne sera u ciel montee;
N'en soions pas donc seurmonté,
4508 Sique lassus soions monté. Amen.

Coment l'edificacion du moustier saint Magloire fu faite.

La sainte evvangile devise
Que la montaingne haut assise
Ne puet par droit estre chacee,
4512 N'ausinc la chandelle alumee,
Mes sus le chandelier doit estre
Pour la clarté faire connestre;
Ausinc les vertuz et les faiz
4516 Qui de sains Dieu ont esté faiz
Que l'en set par genz honorables,
Puis que leur faiz sont profitables,
L'en ne les doit couvrir ne taire.
4520 Et pour ce vous en veil retraire,
Car se inobedienz estoie,
Du souverain juge en seroie
fol. 96*v* Blasméz et repris durement;
4524 Pour ce vous veil dire briement
D'un miracle de saint Magloire
Que Dieu par li fist tout notoire,
Quant premier fu edefiee
4528 S'eglise a Lehon et fondee,
Au profit de ceus qui vendront
Et qui au lire i entendront.

Puis que saint Magloire aportéz
4532 Fu de Sarge et transportéz
A Lehon par grace devine,
Sa renonmee, qui ne fine
Mes vola par toute contree,
4536 Fist que mainte gent assamblee
La venoit pour li honorer
Et pour en ce lieu demourer,
Car cilz leus ou temps de jadis

Estoit conme un biau paradis;
Plus biau plus ne povoit on querre.
Assis estoit en plaine terre,
D'une montaigne a la costiere;
Assis estoit sus la riviere,
Si en estoit plus delitables
Entre vignes fructefiables
fol. 97*r* Et herbes tres bien odorans.
En ce lew avoit encor enz
Pins, pomiers et arbres portanz;
Mout estoit cilz leus confortanz.
Diex a merveilles i ouvroit,
Car la montaigne le couvroit,
Le fleuve poisson li donnoit;
La terre li abandonnoit
De vin et froment avantage
Et les herbes de maint buvrage
Bon, odorant et delitable;
Li arbre maint fruit profitable
Pour enplir la neccessité
Les freres. De Dieu la pité,
La volenté et l'ordenance
Donner leur veust tel habundance
Et coi plus ! sique vous delivre
Les freres orent la leur vivre
Sanz nule faute — c'est la some —
Par la merite du saint home.
Mes de tant a mesaise estoient
Que moustier n'eglise n'avoient
A Dieu servir devotement
Ne leu ou honoreement
fol. 97*v* Le tres saint cors metre poissent;
Pour ce de riens ne s'esjoissent.
Et lors clers et pueple ensement
Conseil ont pris conmunement
Que cele petite eglisete,
Que de vil matire estoit faite,
Soit mise a terre et despecie
Et que nouvelle soit bastie
Et plus grant, meilleur et faitice,
Toute de pierre tailleice,
De fuz poliz, de bon mesrien,
Car la viez ne valoit mes rien.
Laquel chose a touz a pleu,
Puis ont les ouvriers esleu,
Lesquiex tantost il envoierent
Et leur conmanderent qu'il quierent

4542-4566 The poem is considerably more elaborate in its description of the virtues of the place than is the O.Fr.pr.

4577-8 Faulty rhyme.

Partout ou il ont seignorie,
4588 Par cause de leur abbaie,
Pierres polies et quarrees
La ou porront estre trouvees
Et porter au moustier les facent.
4592 Et ceus mout quierent et pourchacent,
Mout [il] vindrent et mout alerent,
Mes teles pierres ne trouverent
fol. 98*r* Ne lors ne virent ne ne tindrent.
4596 Pour ce courrouciéz s'en revindrent
Et con tristes, desconforté,
Aus freres ont ce raporté.
Et quant les freres ceus oirent,
4600 Entr'eus mout grant doleur en firent
Jusqu'atant qu'aucun, qui la furent
Des plus anciens, s'aperçurent
D'un edefice decheu
4604 Qui estoit de pieça cheu,
Ouquel li paien aouroient
Leur diex quant il li demouroient.
Et cilz leus estoit hautement
4608 Edefiéz et fermement,
Car les paroiz d'entour estoient
Fermes et bien se maintenoient.
Puis quant les freres et evesques
4612 Et les ouvriers vindrent avecques
Pour regarder cele mesiere,
L'un en dit avant, l'autre arriere:
L'un en dit que ce fu l'eglise
4616 Ou l'en faisoit au[s] diex servise.
A sa guise chascun en parle:
L'un l'a dit chambre, l'autre sale
fol. 98*v* Ou jadis la fille d'un roi,
4620 De grant povoir et grant arroi,
A un qui fu Proco nonméz,
De grant noblesce renonméz,
Donnee fu et mariee
4624 Et pour li fu edefiee
De son pere, si con disoient.
Les pillers qui la soutenoient
De marbre blanc et rouge furent;
4628 Li vermeil blanches tasches urent,
Et li blanc les orent vermeilles,
Dont les regardanz a merveilles,
Pour les couleurs que il veoient
4632 Diverses, mout se delitoient.
La trouverent pierres quarrees
Desus les coulompnes entees,

4617-8 Faulty rhyme.

Et tout entour illec pendoient;
4636 La trouverent ce que queroient.
Et [que] vous porroit on plus dire?
Icele maisiere et matire
Nus homs par samblant a le faire
4640 Ne poist ne cele defaire.
Lors les freres se conseillerent
Et les evesques appelerent
fol. 99*r* Et puis ont, d'un assentement,
4644 Touz les ouvriers conmunement
Envoié pour tout jus abatre.
Lors se prist chascun a debatre
Et fierent de hoes et piz,
4648 Mes si s'en va de piz en piz
Que pour force ne pour maistrise
Pierre n'en chiet, pierre n'en brise;
L'un fiert et boute, l'autre tire,
4652 Mes pierre ne s'en part de tire.
Ainsinc troiz jourz y laboureren‍t,
Mes en ce riens ne profiterent.
Et quant il ont tout ce veu,
4656 Un d'eulz, qui plus fu pourveu,
Leur dit: "Biau seigneur, vraiement
Nous labourons ci folement.
Chascuns de nous ici s'esforce,
4660 Mes riens ne vaut ci nostre force;
Nous avons perdu nostre paine:
Ces pierres de chauz et d'areine
Sont si tres conjointes ensamble
4664 Qu'il n'est nus homs qui les dessamble.
Troiz jourz nous somes ci grevé
Que pierre ne n'avons levé
fol. 99*v* Mes c'un petit de sablonnee
4668 Conme farine deliee."
Lors les [ouvriers] qui la esterent,
Conme tretouz se desesperent
De poour, sanz plus sejourner
4672 Conseil pristrent du retourner,
Car les pierres qui la estoient
Esqueles tout se delitoient
Furent si conjointes en l'euvre
4676 Que nesune esrachier ne meuvre
L'en ne poist pour chose nee,
Con se ce fust chose juree.

4634 Ms.: *entrees* with *r* deleted by dot.

4637-8 Faulty rhyme.

4640 Ms.: *Ne poist et cele desfaire* with *et* deleted by dot and *ne* hyperscript in same hand; no indication of change to *desfaire*.

Lors pour l'amour de saint Magloire,
4680 Si con nous raconte l'estoire,
Le maçon dont j'ai dit arriere
En plorant dit en tel maniere
A ses conpaignons, aus evesques
4684 Et au[s] moines la joinz avecques:
"Que nous vaut il ne ne profite
Avoir cerchié pierre d'eslite
Bone pour fonder ceste eglise,
4688 Puis trouver a nostre devise
Tout ce que nous est necessaire,
Et puis retourner sanz rien faire?
fol. 100*r* Miex vausit que de nos veues
4692 N'eussent esté ne conneues
Que veoir les et ci savoir
Sanz profit au mestier avoir.
Veés le[s] ci en nostre baillie!
4696 Ne profit ne n'a l'abbaie.
Je vous dira[i] ce que me samble
Pour ce que ci estes ensamble:
Vez la un piller par desriere
4700 Qui soustient ceste grant perriere!
Il est si fort et si haut faiz,
Car il soutient trestout le faiz.
Et s'aucun prenoit hardiesce
4704 De abatre jus sa fortresce,
Tout ce qui ceenz est, en l'erre
Par desus verseroit a terre;
Ce puet chascun de nous connestre,
4708 Mes ce sanz peril ne puet estre."
Ainsi leur dit et fait entendre,
Mes nus le fait osa enprendre,
Car voir estoit que chose tele
4712 Perilleuse estoit et mortele;
Et si estoit certains sanz doute
Que cele pierre a terre toute
fol. 100*v* Iroit quant le piller cherroit.
4716 Mes li maistres le conparroit,
Car despeciéz menuement
Seroit illec certainement;
Ainsi li vendroit sa fortune:
4720 De mil vies ne n'aroit une.

Quant cilz maçons a bien veu
Que nus a ce ne s'est meu
Pour le peril et la doutance,
4724 Soupirant dit en audiance:

4708 Ms.: *peril il ne.*
4715 Ms.: *piller qnt cherroit,* with *qnt* deleted by dots.

“Seigneur, que n’avéz en memoire
Conment le fil Dieu de sa gloire
Pour nous en terre descendi?
Inmortel, mortel se rendi
Et l’impassible vost souffir
Et soi pour nous a mort offrir;
Tant ot vers nous grant charité,
Tant de douceur et de pité.
Et nous donques a s’essamplaire
Pour coi redoutons nous a faire
Ce que pour nous Jhesucrist fist,
Quant c’est a l’onneur et profit
Des sains que par leurs granz prieres
Des pechiéz, que ça en arrieres
fol. 101*r* Avons fait envers la puissance
Dieu, nous enpetrent indulgence?
Nous ne somes pas bien preudonmes,
Quant pour eus de cuer failliz sonmes.
Et pour ce tout conmunement
Requerons tres devotement
Le tres glorieus saint Magloire
Qu’i mete en cuer et en memoire,
Et me prometéz pardurable
Apres ceste escoulourable,
Et je au profit de vous ensamble
Qui pour paour de mort n’i tramble,
Car en saint Magloire me fie
Qu’en ce besoign ne faudra mie.
Ce grant piller detrancherai
Et tout a terre aplanerai,
Car piller et pierres cherront
Sique toutes genz le verront.”
Adonc touz ceus qui ce oirent
En lermes du cuer li promistrent
Ce qu’il leur avoit demandé
Et puis a Dieu s’est conmandé.
Son pic et ses ferremenz prist
Et le piller abatre enprist.
fol. 101*v* Et cil pleurent, braient et crient
Ne autre chose ne font ne dient;
Et li maçons fiert, hurte et boute
Et la mis a sa force toute;
De grant sueur et de grant force
A versser ce piller s’esforce
Et tant fiert qu’a terre le verse.
Adonc cele pierre diverse
A grant noise toute versa
Et l’ouvrier desous en versa;
Riens n’i demoura en tenant
Que tout ne cheist maintenant
Et cil desouz est demouréz

4776 Qui griement fu de touz plouréz.
Lors cil qui virent son martire,
Conm home dolanz et plain d'ire,
Hastiuement sont esmeu,
4780 Car les pierres qu'il ont veu
Sus le maçon oster voloient,
Car tout despecié le cuidoient;
Si voloient les pieces prendre
4784 Et pour l'essevelir entendre.
Si ont tant ouvré en ce faire
Qu'i furent ja pres du hors traire,
fol. 102*r* Et lors con si ne li grevast
4788 Et que de son lit se levast,
Cilz leur tant la main et parole
En disant leur tele parole:
He! freres, ne vous traveilliéz,
4792 Mes les vertuz Dieu merveilliéz,
Car des ce qu'a terre chei
De mon cors ne me meschei;
Car entre les pierres et moi
4796 Saint Magloire estoit avec moi
Et sus mon cors et sus mon chief,
Si n'ai sentu fais ne meschief."
Et ce dit, par les mains le prirent
4800 Et graces et merciz rendirent
A Dieu touz pour sa delivrance.
Adonques cilz, sanz demourance,
Joinz piéz, saut sus et sain de vie
4804 S'en retourna a l'abbaie.
Liéz et aussinques ot grant joie
Chascun de ceus qui le convoi.
Puis en aprés les pierres prirent
4808 Dont l'eglise mout noble firent
Ou fut saint Magloire honoré
De mainte gent et aouré.
fol. 102*v* Vez ci des miracles et (des) signes
4812 Que je, conbien n'en soie dignes,
Vous ai par rime recité;
Nonpas le tout, c'est verité,
Car cors d'on ne porroit conprendre,
4816 Bouche dire ne sens entendre
Ce que Diex fist pour saint Magloire
Liquiex regne avec li en gloire.
Saint Magloire Diex glorefie!
4820 En gloire s'ame en est ravie.
Voire parole n'a haie,
Croire vost Diex toute sa vie.
Memoire ait de nous, je l'en prie;

4779 Ms.: *Hastiuement "esmeu sont."*
4784-4830 The poem is here considerably more elaborate than the O.Fr.pr.

4824 Propiciatoire et aie,
Aide et propiciatoire,
(Je l'en pris de nous ait memoire)
Je le pri de nous ait memoire.
Sa vie toute Diex vost croire;
4828 Haie n'a parole voire;
Or a vie s'ame est en gloire;
Glorefie Diex saint Magloire. Amen.

Conment les cors Monseigneur saint Magloire et pluseurs autres cors sainz furent aportéz de Bretaigne a Paris.

fol. 103*r* En l'an de l'Incarnacion,
4832 Par droite numeracion,
Huit cenz et quatre vinz et huit
Vindrent li Danois a conduit,
Qui puis Normenz apeléz furent,
4836 Par mer en Saine. Et un prince urent
Qui lors estoit Rollo nonméz,
De cruauté grant renonméz;
Grant pueple ot et force de gent
4840 Et vindrent lors France assegent
Et des Anglais orent secours.
Par le regne alerent le cours
Et con langoustes le couvrirent
4844 Et leur ost en trois parz partirent:
Le regne clorrent a la ronde
Par Sainne et Layre et par Gironde
Qui toutes chieent en la mer.
4848 Ainsinc pensserent de affamer
Et de destruire le païs;
S'en furent françois esbais.
fol. 103*v* Et ce fu quant regnoit en France
4852 Charlles le Simple et en enfance
Estoit adonc et tuterie,
Car son pere n'estoit en vie
Qui Charlle ot non le Debonnaire,
4856 Qui en avoit laissié l'afaire,
La terre et la seignorie

4836 Rollo or Hrolf was the Viking chieftain with whom Charles the Simple concluded the peace of St.-Claire-sur-Epte in 911, by which Hrolf held the Duchy of Normandy as vassal of Charles.

4852 Charles the Simple, Carolingian King of the West Franks and grandson of Charles the Bald, claimed the throne from 893 to 929. In 888 he was about nine years old.

4855 Who "Charles le Debonnaire" is supposed to have been is not quite clear. Charles the Simple's father was Louis II le Bègue, who reigned from 877 until his death in 879. Perhaps the poet had Louis II's cousin Charles the Fat (son of Louis the German) in mind, who reigned over the West Franks from 884 until his deposition in 887.

4857 Ms.: Something so faint as to be illegible is written above *-norie* in a second hand. It might perhaps be *besoigne*, which would correct the faulty rhyme; *seignorie*, however, is not deleted.

A Oeude, lors duc de Bourgoine.

Rollo et ses Danois paienz
4860 Estoient touz et mescreanz,
Si vindrent li cruel menistre,
Le jour de saint Jehan Baptiste,
Droit devant Nantes la cité;
4864 Nus homs adonc, c'est verité,
Ne le povoit pas contrester.
A Nantes vodrent arrester
Et tout entour le feu geterent
4868 Et Goumart l'evesque tuerent
Sus l'autel saint Farguel en l'erre,
Lequel chei tout mort a terre;
En disant sa messe l'ocirent,
4872 En la grant eglise ce firent
Devers la senestre partie,
Laquel grant eglise est bastie
fol. 104*r* Et fondee, ça en arriere,
4876 Ou non de l'apostre saint Pere.
Et quant arse fu et gastee
Nantes, que desus ai nonmee,
De toutes parz il s'espandirent;
4880 Tout gasterent et abatirent,
Ausi conme une grant tempeste.
Adonc en la cité d'Aleste
Un evesque ot mout renonmé
4884 Qui Sauveeur estoit nonmé,
Liquiex, con n'eust esperance
De confort avoir n'aidance
Encontre leur fol hardement,
4888 Pris a le cors hastiuement
De saint Maclou, son devancier,
Et ainsi l'enporta entier
En l'abbaie de Lehon;
4892 Et ja mains de religion
Furent la fouiz a garant
Pour leur pestillence apparant
Et pour ce que mout delitable

4858 Odo, Count of Paris, was the first non-Carolingian King of the West Franks. Having distinguished himself in the defense of Paris against the Norsemen in 886, he was elected King after the deposition of Charles the Fat in 887. He was the brother of Robert I (922-3), whose grandson was Hugh Capet.

4861-2 Faulty rhyme.

4868 St. Gunthardus, 32nd Bishop of Nantes, 835-843. "Anno 843, urbem Nannetensem Normanis invadentibus... Gunthardus episcopus ecclesiam adit apostolorum Petri et Pauli coeleste flagitans auxilium. At Normani templum, effractis ostiis, confestim occupant, et obvium praesulem mucrone trucidant". *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 802.

4884 St. Salvator; cf. *Recueil des Historiens de France*, X, 213, C.

4889 St. Maclovius (S. Malo), Bishop of Aleth, died 15 Nov. 565 or 627.

4896 Li leus estoit et honorable,
Riche de granz possessions,
Car les rois et les regions
fol. 104*v* Enrichi l'orent roiaument
4900 Et pour ce especiaument
Que le glorieus saint Magloire
Leenz gisoit en l'oratoire
Qui arcevesque esté avoit
4904 De Dol, si con chascun savoit.
Adoncques en cele abbaie
Juvain, uns homs de sainte vie,
Le pueple Dieu avoit en cure,
4908 Qui laienz en devote et pure
Oroison Dieu touz jourz prioit
Et de vrai cuer s'umelioit;
Liquiex Juvains, si con l'en dit,
4912 Fu amonesté et endit
De Dieu de nuit en vision
Que pour la persecucion
Des paiens qui la contreignoit,
4916 Que de Bretaigne s'esloignoit
Et que plus n'i veille arrester;
Ainçois s'en viegne en France ester,
Car la seroit paisiblement
4920 A repoz et seurement,
Et par cest amonestement
Fait et par l'evesque ensement
fol. 105*r* Sauveour, qui monesté l'a,
4924 Entr'eus deuz partirent de la,
Maintes reliques aportees
Laienz de diverses contrees,
Et mains cors sainz ausiques prirent.
4928 Et puis a la voie se mirent;
Les livres, les sains enporterent
Et outillemenz qu'il trouverent
De l'eglise ont il enporté
4932 Qui puis n'i furent raporté.
Ainsinc de Brethaigne s'esmurent
Et, quant ja hors des bonnes furent,
Par tel maniere et par tel guise
4936 Les menistres de Dol l'eglise
Et ceus de Baieuz encontrerent
Et ensamble s'aconpaignerent,
Liquiex avecq eus portoient
4940 Saint Sanson que a Dol pris avoient

4906 Junanus; cf. *Rec. des Hist. de Fr.*, X, 213, C.

4918 Ms.: *en farance ester.*

4940 St. Samson, Bishop of Dol and founder of the monastery of Dol, consecrated bishop in 521. For his life cf. *AA.SS.*, July VI, 568-93; Mabillon, *A.S.O.S.B.*, I, 165; and Robert Fawtier, *La Vie de Saint Samson*, (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études; Sciences historiques et philologiques, vol. 197), Paris 1912.

Et saint Sanator, ce me samble,
Et saint Paer orent ensamble,
Et ausi saint Seubilion;
Ainsinc par mainte region
Ensamble longuement alerent
Et mains leus sauvages passerent.

fol. 105*v* Aprés de ce temps grant espace,
Ainsi con entour l'an de grace
Nuef cenz, quarante sis ensamble,
Charlle le Simple, ce me samble,
Et Loys son filz morz ja furent,
Et le filz ce Loys fait urent
Roi en France et ot non Lothaire;
Et en ce temps, au voir retraire,
Hue Chapet fu duc en France,
Puis roi aussinques sanz doutance.
Et cilz Lothaires celi Hue,
Si con l'estoire nous argue,
Fist adonc de Poitiers seigneur
Avecques toute l'autre honeur
Que du Grant tint son pere,
Si con l'estoire nous desclere.

En ce temps Rollo, dont j'ai fait
Mencion, crestien fu fait
Aprés toute la pestillence
Que fait ot ou regne de France;
Rollo, sa gent et sa contree
Fu lors donques toute baptiziee.
Mes en France encore lors estoient
D'aucuns barons qui guerreoient,
fol. 106*r* Descorz et granz dissenssions,

4941 St. Sinerius (or Senator, Senier), Bishop of Avranches 563, died 18 Sept. *ca.* 570. He was the successor of St. Paternus and is not to be confused with his successor (or predecessor?) St. Severus. Cf.: *AA.SS.*, Sept. V, 780.

4942-3 St. Paternus, Bishop of Avranches, born *ca.* 480, consecrated *ca.* 552, died *ca.* 565. St. Scubilio was his companion. For their lives cf. *AA.SS.*, April II, 422-426.

4948 Ms.: *len de grace.*

4951 Louis IV d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, was still alive in 946. He reigned from 936 to 954.

4953 Lothaire, son of Louis d'Outremer, reigned from 954 to 986.

4955 Hugh Capet became Duke of the Franks in 956. Perhaps line 4949 should refer to the year 956 instead of the year 946.

4956 But not until the death of Lothaire's son and successor Louis V le Faineant in 987.

4960-1 Hugh the Great, Duke of the Franks, was the son of Robert I and father of Hugh Capet. He died in 956.

4961 The line lacks two syllables. Perhaps *Hue* should be inserted after *Grant.*

4963-8 Cf. note to line 4836.

4972 Guerres et tribulacions.
En celi temps que j'ai nonmé,
Li honorable et renonmé
Evesque, Sauveour recité,
4976 A pou de gent en la cité
De Paris vint et saintuaires
Pluseurs, et reliquiaires
Pour la paour des mescreanz
4980 A Paris les porta laienz
Qui mout noble estoit et garnie.
Confort trouverent et aide,
Car la gent de devocion
4984 Ot d'euz mout grant conpassion
Et de ce que il habundoient
Leur grant defaute souplooient.
La un pou de temps demourerent
4988 Et, quant virent que ne cesserent
Les griéz, les maus que les paiens
Demenoient au[s] crestiens,
A Paris vodrent sejourner
4992 Ne ne penserent a tourner
Jamés devers leur region,
Se Diex par s'ordinacion
fol. 106*v* Ne le voloit, car il voloient
4996 Les reliques que il portoient
A Paris m[e]t[r]e dignement
Du gre et du consentement
Hue Chapet qui estoit prince
5000 Lors de toute cele province.

De par le conseil que il prirent,
Pour parler au duc, s'en vindrent
En la cité ou demouroit;
5004 Sa venue leur demouroit.
Le duc en sale trouverent
Ceus qui la le cors saint porterent,
Mes en besoigne lors le virent;
5008 Pour ce longuement l'atendirent.
Grant piece ont le duc attendu
Si ont les cors sains estendu
Sus une table que la veoient
5012 Cil qui le duc Hue attendoient.
Et la firent si grant demeure
Que de disner approcha l'eure;

4995 Ms.: a corrector's hand has written *faisoit* above *voloit*, but *voloit* is not deleted.
4996 Ms.: *Les "que il portoient reliques."*
4997 Ms.: *A paris moitie dignement.*
5001 Ms.: *pristrent,* the *st* being hyperscript between *i* and *r* in the same hand.
5005 Line lacks one syllable. Perhaps *la* is to be inserted before *sale.*
5014 Ms.: *dissner.*

Adonc cilz qui des tables metre
5016 Au disner se dut entremetre.
En sale vint et fiert et frape
Ce qu'entour li treuve et atrape;
fol. 107*r* A cele bone gent ala
5020 Et vilainement leur parla
Et dit que la salle widasesnt
Et que de laienz s'en allassent.
Et soufit ne li a ce pas,
5024 Mes a feru inele pas
D'une verge qu'il a tenue
Les cors sains par descouvenue.
Quant tel descouvenue ot fait,
5028 La paine senti du mesfait
Et sa folie et felonnie
Sanz punir ne trespassa mie,
Car, pour ce qu'il avoit mespris,
5032 Tantost du diable fu espris
Et va et vient et fiert et boute;
De noise enpli la sale toute
Et dit a tant de vilonnie
5036 Qu'il a couvenu(e) qu'en le lie.

Quant le duc la chose a seu
Et le hors-du-sens a veu,
De la sale ist sanz demourance;
5040 Au cors saint a fait reverance
De cuer en grant repentement
Et s'agenoulla humblement
fol. 107*v* Devant touz et leur depria
5044 Que du mesfait que fait y a
Veillent prier nostre seigneur
Que a pechié n'a deshonneur
Ne li soit tourné malement,
5048 Mes li pardoignent doucement.
Lors furent les sainz honoréz
De toutes genz et aouréz;
Puis le duc ordene et devise
5052 Qu'ils oient mis dedenz l'eglise
Saint Berthelemi, qui bastie
De par le roial seignorie
En son non fu et consacree.
5056 Et ce fu fait cele journee.
Ouque lleu lors chanoine estoient
Qui l'office Dieu celebroient;
Ceus honorablement reçurent
5060 Les cors sains qui la porté furent.
Laienz les vost le duc avoir:

5052-3 Cf. the forged charter in L. Halphen & F. Lot, *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V*, 954-987, Paris 1908, p. 154.

Saint Sanson, c'est bien asavoir,
Lequel de Dol fu arcevesques
5064 Et saint Magloire estoit avecques
Qui pastour en fu aprés li;
Saint Maclou refu pres de li;
fol. 108*r* Saint Sanator, saint Leonaire,
5068 Ces reliques vost la Diex traire;
Saint Eleuthaire, saint Levian
Et avec saint Ciferian.
Et tous ceus ci desus nonmé
5072 Evesques furent renonmé.
Saint Briomagle, saint Meloire
Et de saint Tremori l'estoire
Dit que d'euz ot la grant partie
5076 . . . .
Saint Winganton et saint Scophile
Raporterent en cele ville.
Et cil dui saint abbé estoient.
5080 . . . .
Saint Scubilion, saint Paer
Revindrent la sanz delaier,

5063 On Dol as an archbishopric cf. F. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, p. 110, n. 6.

5067 St. Leonorius, bishop of the region of Aleth, probably contemporary of Sts. Magloire and Samson. For his life cf. *AA. SS.*, July I, 105-111.

5069 Line is hypermetric; emending *Eleuthaire* to *Leuthaire* would correct the syllable count and assimilate the name to the Latin *Leucernus* and the O.Fr.pr. *Leutherne*. St. Leuthernus and St. Levianus, bishops; cf. *AA.SS.*, Oct. VIII, 57-59.

5070 St. Ciferian, "évèque régionnaire inconnu" René Merlet, 'Les Origines du Monastère de Saint-Magloire,' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LVI (1895) p. 246, n. 7.

5073 St. Briocus (S. Brieuc), bishop in Brittany, born *ca.* 409-420, died ca. 502-515. Cf. Fr. Plaine, O. S. B., 'Vita S. Brioci,' *Anal. Boll.*, II (1883) 161; and J. Loth, *Les Noms des saints de Bretagne*, p. 16, *s. v.* Brieuc.

5073 St. Melorus (or Melioris), martyr, probably in England (*ca.* 411)?. For his life cf. *AA.SS.*, Jan. I, 136-7.

5074 St. Tremorius, sixth century martyr in Brittany. For the legend of his life, taken from the life of St. Gildas, cf. *AA. SS.*, Nov. III, 829.

5076 That a line is missing is indicated not only by the broken rhyme scheme, but also by the absence in the poem of the reference of the Lat. and O.Fr.pr. to the precious bodies. Lat.: "pars pretiosorum corporum Malorii et Tremorii, Wigantonis abbatis, Scofili abbatis". O.Fr.pr.: "et une partie des precieus cors de saint Meloire et de saint Tremoire, et de saint Wiganton abbe, de saint Scophile abbe".

5077 St. Gueganton, mentioned in a Breton litany of the eleventh century and in a calendar of the Abbey of St. Méen, Cf. Lobineau in *Revue Celtique*, XI, 135; also René Merlet in *Bibl. de l'École des Ch.*, LVI (1895) p. 246, n. 9; and J. Loth, *Les Noms des saints bretons*, (Paris 1910) p. 51, *s. v.* Guéngat. For St. Scophilus, abbot ; cf. *AA. SS.*, Oct. VIII, 57-59.

5080 That a line is missing is indicated not only by the broken rhyme scheme, but also by the absence in the poem of the reference in the Lat. and O.Fr.pr. to the parts of the bodies. Lat.: "pars corporis Paterni et Scubilionis". O.Fr.pr.: "et une partie des cors de saint Paer et saint Scubilion."

Et de saint Budoci la denz
En l'eglise mis ont dedenz.
Saint Corenthin, saint Guenal prestre
Fist le duc en sa chapelle estre.
C'est le duc qui ot Hue nom
Qui fu de si tres haut renom,
Si larges et si renonméz,
Qui puis rois des Franz fu nonméz.
D'autres reliques fu douee
La roial chapelle honoree
fol. 108*v* De par les crestiens feaus,
Car li sains leus estoit roiaus.
Et puis ce fait et consummé,
Si con desus vous ai nonmé,
De Paris le duc debonnaire
Issi pour autre chose faire.
Apres une piece de temps,
Des barons guerres et contens
En France fist Diex a pais traire
Par le conseil du roi Lothaire.
Dont li Sarrazin qui ce virent
Tantost de France se partirent
Qui lors d'euz estoit mout peuplee,
Mes ele en fu lors delivree,
Car il alerent en leur terres.
Et quant de contenz et de guerres
Fu de toute pars apaisie
France la douce et Normandie,
Aucuns de ceus qui de Bretaigne
Vindrent a Paris par l'enseigne
De Dieu, si con nous devons croire,
Leurs cors pristrent — ce dit l'estoire —
Des sains qu'i la aporté eurent
Et en leur païs tourner deurent;
fol. 109*r* Li autre en autre leus de France
Aler durent par acordance.
Et quant ce fu au duc conté,
Par la douceur de sa bonté,
Conbien qu'a grant grieté li tourne,
Toutevois ce ne leur destourne
Ne de li rien furent repris.
Ainsinc ceus ont saint Sanson pris,
Saint Guenal et saint Leonoire

5083 St. Budocus, Bishop of Dol, died *ca.* 600. P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, lists him as the immediate successor to St. Magloire and predecessor of St. Leucherus.

5085 St. Corentinus, 10th Bishop of Quimper, died 12 Dec. ca. 540. St. Guenailus, second Abbot of Landévennec, born in beginning of sixth century, died *ca.* 580-90. For his life cf. *AA. SS.*, Nov. I, 669-679; F. Lot in *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900) 60-76; and R. Merlet, *Bibl. de l'École d. Ch.*, LVI (1895) p. 246, n. 2.

5090 Ms.: *Que.*

Et d'autre sains de digne afaire
Dont li un a Corbeul alèrent,
Li autre a Biaumont demourerent
Et en France en diverses pars
Furent lors les cors sains espars.
Mes li dus a leur departie
De saint Sanson prist grant partie
Et leur laissa le remanant
Avec le saint chief attenant.
Et ce saint remanant qu'il orent
Droit en Bretaigne porter vodrent
Ceus qui furent la et estoient
Bretons; pour ce en Bretaigne aloient.
La leur chemin tout droit en pristrent,
Mes quant a Orliens vindrent,
fol. 109*v* La demourerent longuement
Par maint grant enpeeshement
N'en Bretaigne ne se trouverent
Si tost d'assés con il cuiderent.

Li dux Hue dont mencion
Fait ai en ma narracion,
Con cil qui de Dieu fu ami,
Ice leu saint Berthelemi
Acrut mout de dons temporéz
Et par li fu mout honoréz
De glorieus reliquiaire.
Et fist edefier et faire
Un leu nouvel, sanz contredit,
En l'onneur de l'apostre dit
Et de saint [Magloire] ensement,
Car, puis saint Sanson, dignement
Premier de Dol fu arcevesques
Et pour ce le mist il avecques
Saint Barthelemi par honeur;
Encor fist Hue fait greigneur,
Car quant ot fait edefier
Ce leu, il le fist dedier.
Et pour faire le Dieu servise,
Moines i mist par sa devise
fol. 110*r* Et leur dona, c'est verité,
Par la roial auctorité
Et par conmun assentement,
De prestres et clers meesmement,
Par conmune ordinacion,
Que de leur congregacion
Faire poissent et eslire
Abbé desormais sanz desdire.

5155 Ms.: *Et de saint ensement.* Lacks two syllables.

Liquiex dux qui Hue se clame
Avecques Aaliz sa fame,
Qui adont fille estoit du conte
5176 De Poitiers, si con dit le conte,
Et de lignage et de ligniee
Du grant Charllemaine estoit nee
Qui rois de France et emperiere
5180 De Rome fu ça en arriere,
Ont cele eglise bien douee
Et honoree est essauciee
De grans dons et possessions.
5184 Et toutes ses oblacions
Et ses dons confermer fist faire
Au roi, qui lors estoit Lothaire,
Siqu'en n'i poist rappeller;
5188 Du roial seel fist seeler
fol. 110*v* Et confermer fist le duc Hue
Son don et pour ce ne se mue
Ce qu'a saint Magloire ot donné.
5192 Or li soit Diex habandonné
Et si par grace a li s'adonne
Que son saint ciel li abandonne,
Car a li se doit adonner;
5196 Diex, puis que pour li vost donner
Tel don, estre li doit donnant
Gloire et ses mesfaiz pardonnant,
Car par faire aumosne et pardon
5200 Doit Diex au bons faire pardon.

Coment le cors monseigneur saint Magloire fu translatté de la chasse de fust en la chasse d'argent.

L'an mil .ccc. et .xv. ensamble
Tempestes de venz, ce me samble,
De mortalité, pestillence
5204 Et famine furent en France;
Guerres, pluies si largement
Qu'auqués les biens conmunement
fol. 111*r* Temporeus cel an se perdirent.

5174 On the wife of Hugh Capet and her descent from Charlemagne cf. F. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 357-9 and p. 360, n. 2; also *Recueil des Historiens de France*, IX, p. 644; and R. Merlet, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

5194 Ms.: *habandonne.*

5201 Neither the Latin nor the O.Fr.pr. accounts cover the part from here to the end. The description of this last translation of the relics seems to be the poet's own contribution.

5204 ff. For the famine of 1315, 1316, & 1317 in France, cf. Chronique de Geoffroy de Paris, in *Rec. hist. France* (1865) vol. XXII, p. 160, v. 7353-7380; also Glotz, *Histoire Générale, Hist. du M. A.*, vol. VIII, p. 167; and particularly Henry S. Lucas, 'The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, & 1317,' in *Speculum*, V (October 1930) pp. 343-377.

5206 Ms.: first word is almost effaced; reading is not certain.

5208 Dont processions maintes firent
Mains qui furent desconfortéz
Et mains cors sains furent portéz
Des prelas, nuz piéz et en langes,
5212 Par les voies et par les fanges
A Paris especiaument,
Car la entour plus cruaument
Cele grant pestillance estoit
5216 Qui touz le[s] païs contrestoit.
Et lors l'abbé et le couvent
De saint Magloire mout souvent
Le cors saint Magloire porterent
5220 Devotement et jeunerent
Pour la pestillence nonmee
Souventes foiz en cele annee.

Et pour ce que de saint Magloire
5224 Le cors, dont j'ai fait ci memoire,
Avoit esté et encor iere
Du temps jadis ça en arriere
En chasse de fust sanz mouvoir,
5228 Diex adonques vost esmouvoir
Les cuers de ceus de l'abbaie
Que nueve chasse soit bastie
fol. 111*v* D'argent et noblement doree
5232 Et, cele faite et consunmee,
Saint Magloire tant seulement
Feust la mis honoreement.
Et, ainsinc cun il l'entreprirent,
5236 De par Dieu la chose parfirent:
Mise fu a perfection
En l'an de l'Incarnacion
Mil troiz cenz dis e huit ensamble,
5240 Au diemenche en juign, ce me samble,
Devant droit la Nativité
Saint Jehan Baptiste en esté;
Et en isel an meesmement,
5244 Le diemenche proprement
Puis la saint Martin en juignet,
De par Dieu qui tout ordenoit
Le cors saint Magloire osté fust
5248 De la vielle chasse de fust
E[t] translaté en la nouvelle.
Et quant Paris sot la nouvelle,

5210 Ms.: *cors "furent portez" sains.*

5211 Cf.: Henry Lucas, 'The Great European Famine,' *op. cit.*, p. 359.

5240 In 1318 the Sunday before the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist was June 18.

5245 S. Martini Ordinatio et Translatio (Martinus calidus) is July 4. In 1318 the Sunday after July 4 was July 9.

5249 Ms.: *En.*

La bone gent en fu mout liee:
5252 S'en fu la Grant Rue parée
D'arbres, de dras encourtiné;
De faire feste n'ont finé.
fol. 112*r* Et pour ce que j'ai mencion
5256 Fait de ceste translacion,
Dire vous en veil la maniere,
Siques a touz, ça en arriere,
Qui seront en puist souvenir
5260 Et en remenbrance tenir.

En ceste translacion faire
Ot .viii. bourgois de noble afaire;
De la justice et seignorie,
5264 Estoient touz de l'abbaie
Chascun robe ot nueuve partie:
Blanc et vermeil fu la partie.
Ceus par la Grant Porte en alerent
5268 Et la nueuve chasse porterent
Par la Grant Rue qui paree
Lors estoit et encourtinee;
Puis par la rue au Hoes vindrent
5272 Et d'ilecques leur chemin tindrent
Par la rue au Conte da Martin.
Entour prime estoit au matin.
Partout, ainsinc con il aloient,
5276 Les rues parees trouvoient.
Ainsinc par la porte derriere
Entrerent il u cemetiere;
fol. 112*v* Adonc la chasse descendirent
5280 Et haut sus l'eschauffaut la mirent
Qui fu la fait de bone emprise.
Et quant ce fu fait en tel guise,

Aprés vint la procession,
5284 Mout noble a grant devocion,

5270 Ms.: *encoutinee*, with *r* hyperscript between *u* and *t* in a corrector's hand.

5271 In the thirteenth century the *rue aux Ours* was known as *vicus ubi coquuntur anseres* or *vicus anserum*; in 1300 it is referred to as *la rue ou l'on cuit les Hoes* and in 1316 as *la rue aux Oes*. It was only in modern times that the name became *la rue aux Ours*. *Cf.*: Henri Sauval, *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquites de la Ville de Paris*, Paris 1724, II, 'Étymologies des Noms des Rues de Paris,' p. 154.

5273 Ms.: *conte Damartin* is written in a fairly recent hand in black ink over an erasure. This is a reference to *la rue Sale-au-Conte*, which in 1316, in a cartulary of St. Magloire, is described as "la place ou la voye qui n'a point de chef et qui vient de la rue où on cuit les hoes droit a l'encontre des murs de l'église Saint Magloire de Paris." The names *au Conte de Damp-martin* (1386) and *Sale-au-Comte* (modern) refer to the house of the Counts de Dammartin which stood on this street. In the early fourteenth century Renaud, comte de Dammartin, was one of the most powerful enemies of the Abbey of St. Magloire. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 161; and Abbé Lebeuf, *Histoire de Paris*, I (1883) p. 183.

Par la voie que j'ai dit devant.
En la nueuve chasse suivant
La croiz devant et en aprés
5288 L'yaue benoite estoit; aprés
Trois cenz torches pour luminaire
Et plus y ot qu'en ot fait faire;
Deus et deus alanz a delivre,
5292 Chascune de nuebieme livre.
Aprés ce le couvent venoit
Qui devotement se tenoit:
Religieus et seculiers,
5296 Chanoines, prestres seculiers
Et clers revestuz touz i furent,
Et a chappes et aubes furent
Et tres devotement chantoient
5300 Par les rues ou il venoient.
Puis le texte de l'evvangile,
D'argent doré, parmi la ville
fol. 113*r* Aprés portoit le soudiacre,
5304 Aprés lequel fu le diacre
Portant le braz de saint Magloire;
Puis a grant joie et a grant gloire
Portoit l'abbé de l'abbaie,
5308 Qui mout avoit grant conpaignie,
Le chief saint Magloire tres digne,
Et ce chief portoit il en signe
Que de l'abbaie estoit chief.
5312 Apres li vindrent derechief
Quatre prelaz ce ne sont fables:
De saint Germain premier li abbes

5285 Ms.: *quai* enstead of *que j'ai.*

5289 Ms.: *Trois cenz pour torches pour luminaire* with a modern blue ink dash through first *pour.*

5306 Gobertus II de Fraillicourt, 22nd abbot of St. Magloire, elected in 1307. Cf.: *Gallia Christiana,* vol. VIII, col. 320: "Anno sequenti 1318 curante in primis Goberto abbate, Magloriani monachi corpus sancti Maglorii, quod in vasculo conditum erat ab annis 340, in capsam magni pretii ex auro et argento, lapidibusque pretiosis ornatam transferre constituerunt. Hoc opus debetur religioni et pietati monachorum, qui sibi de mensa quotidiana aliquid detrahi sustinuerunt, ut sumptibus divitis capsae quod subtractum sibi esset impenderent. Translationem hanc fecerunt anno 1318, die Dominica post festum sancti Martini aestivalis, ut habent litterae Guillelmi episcopi Parisiensis, adstantibus Johanna, regina, Philippi V tunc regnantis uxore, et Clementia, regina, Ludovici X vidua, cum episcopis et abbatibus compluribus et clero urbis universo, qui ad illam speciali mandato Guillelmi episcopi convocatus fuerat."

5307 Ms.: *Portoit labbes de labbes de labbaie,* with the first *s* and the second *labbes de* stroked out by a fairly recent hand in blue.

5314 Petrus II de Courpalay, 62nd abbot of St. Germain, (died in 1334). "Die 9 Julii anno 1318 in festiva corporis sancti Maglorii e capsa lignea in argenteam inauratam translatione, cui aderant duae reginae Clementia vidua Ludovici X et Johanna uxor Philippi V. Petrus abbas Sangermanensis sermonem ad populum habuit." *Gallia Christiana,* vol. VII,

Et cilz de sainte Genevieve;
5316 Chascun d'eus par devant eslieve
La vielle chasse et la porterent,
En laquel chasse vielle erent
Les os de saint Magloire encores
5320 Orent esté jusques alores.
De Sagonte aprés l'evesques,
L'abbé de saint Denis avecques:
Ces deuz porterent par derriere;
5324 Ainsinc vindrent u cimetiere.
Aprés, l'evesque de Laon
Joignant a celi de Noion,
fol. 113*v* Et l'abbé de Moissac entr'euz;
5328 Puis deuz abbéz religieus,
C'est asavoir cil de saint Mor
Et puis celi de saint Victor.
Puis vint en grant humiliance
5332 La noble roine Climence,
Et puis revint a grant arroi
La fame a Phelipe ce roi
Laquele est Jehanne apelee,

---

col. 457. Cf. also a detailed description of the translation of the reliques of St. Magloire and Abbot Peter's assistance there in Dom Bouillart, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Germain des Prez*, Paris 1724, pp. 148 & 149.

5315 Johannes IV de Saint Leu, 17th Abbot of Ste. Genevieve, elected in 1308, died in 1334; cf. *Gallia Christiana*, VII, 749.

5318 Ms.: *laquel* is changed into *laquelle* by addition of *le* in the same blue ink which corrected line 5307.

5321 Or *Sagonce*? Cf.: 5364. Guarinus, O. P., was elected bishop of Sagona in Corsica in 1306; he died in Paris in 1323.

5322 Egidius de Pontoise ("antea dictus de Chambly"), 50th Abbot of St. Denys, was elected in 1303 and died in 1325-6; cf. *Gall. Chr.*, VII, 397.

5325 Radulphus III Rousselet, 61st Bishop of Laon, 1317-1323; cf. *Gall. Chr.*, IX, 545.

5326 Fulcaudus de Rochechouart, son of Viscount Aimericus de Rupe-cavardi ("Rupiscavardi") and of Johanna de Tonnai-Charente, was 70th Bishop of Noyon from 1317 to 1330-1; cf. *Gall. Chr.*, IX, 1014.

5327 Augerius de Duro-forti, 36th Abbot of Moissac, was elected in 1306 and died in 1334; cf. *Gall. Chr.*, I, 159.

5330 Radulfus II du Busc, 16th Abbot of St. Victor, elected 1293, died 1318; cf. *Gall. Chr.*, XI, 261.

5332 Clemence, daughter of Charles Martel, King of Hungary, married in July 1315 Louis X Hutin, King of France and Navarre, son of Philippe IV le Bel, whom he had succeeded on November 29, 1314. She was crowned with Louis on August 3, 1315. Louis died in June, 1316, leaving the throne vacant until the birth of his son, John I, on November 15, 1316, who, however, died four days after his birth. Clemence, John's mother, died on October 13, 1328.

5335 Jeanne, daughter of Otto IV, Count of Burgundy and of Mahaut, Countess of Artois, married in January 1307 Philippe le Long, Count of Poitier and second son of King Philippe le Bel. Upon the death of his brother, King Louis X, in 1316, Philippe became regent of the kingdom, and after the death of his nephew, John I, in the same year, he

5336 Roine des Frans couronnee
Et de Navarrois ensement.
Aprés venoit devotement
Madame Blanche de Bretaigne.
5340 Avecques fu en leur conpaignie
La contesse aussi d'Artois;
Et li nobles et li courtois
Mesire Robert la estoit
5344 Qui de mener mout s'aprestoit
Climence, roine de France.
Puis cil de Vendosme s'avance,
La roine Jehanne prent;
5348 A mener nul ne l'en reprent
Ne ne reprist de cela faire,
Quar courtois fu en son afaire.
fol. 114r De Dreues aprés vint la contesse;
5352 De Dreues [en] fu grant la presse
Qui tout ensamble s'entre[t]indrent.
Ainsi jusqu'a l'eschaufaut vindrent
Et pour la presse de la gent
5356 Garder, la avoit maint sergent;
Le prevost ausinc i estoit
Qui la grant presse contrestoit.
Quant tout fu ainsi ordené,

succeeded to the throne as Philippe V. He died in January 1322. His wife Jeanne survived him until January 21, 1329.

5339 Blanche de Bretagne was daughter of John II, first Duke of Bretagne and Count of Richemont (son of John I, Count of Bretagne) and of Beatrix (daughter of Henry III, King of England). In 1280 Blanche married Philippe, Seigneur de Conches, de Domfront et de Mehun-sur-Yevre, son of Robert II, Count of Artois. Philippe died in 1298, and upon the death of his father Robert in 1302, the succession to the County of Artois was claimed by Mahaut, daughter of Robert II and sister of Philippe. This claim was unsuccessfully disputed by Robert (verse 5343 ?), son of Philippe and Blanche. Blanche died in the Château de Vincenne on March 19, 1327.

5341 Mahaut, daughter of Robert II of Artois and of Amicie de Courtenai, Wife of Otto IV, Count of Burgundy, was recognised as hereditary Countess of Artois by a judgment of the Peers of France in 1309, against the claims of her nephew Robert, son of her brother Philippe, who was the husband of Blanche de Bretagne (cf. *supra*). When Robert invaded Artois, King Philippe V le Long supported Mahaut, who was his mother-in-law, and took Robert prisoner. After Robert's reconciliation with Mahaut, a royal decree of March 1318 confirmed Mahaut in her possession of the County of Artois and in her capacity of Peer of France, in which she had already participated in the coronation of Philippe le Long in 1317. *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, II, pp. 769-771.

5351 Marie d'Enghien was the wife of Robert V, Count of Dreux and of Braine from 1309 to 1329, son of John II of Dreux and Braine.

5352 Ms.: *ai*.

5353 Ms.: *sentredindrent*.

5357 Henry de Taperel was Provost of Paris from 1316 to 1321; cf. de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 2186.

5360 De saint Magloire a sermonné
L'abbé de Saint Germain des Prez;
Quant son sermon fu avespréz,
Que bien oi toute personne,
5364 Lors li evesques de Sagonne
Beneit la chasse nouvelle.
Et quant beneie ot cele,
Tantost l'evesque de Laon
5368 A genouz en devocion
Veni Creator conmença;
Lors aprés chascun s'avança
De chanter tres devotement
5372 Et en chantant conmunement
L'abbé de Saint Magloire ouvri
Cele chasse et la descouvri.
fol. 114*v* Lors l'evesque de Laon prent
5376 Le cors saint et puis entreprent
Te Deum Laudamus a dire.
Cilz cors sains, dont vous m'oéz dire,
De trois samis estoit couvert:
5380 C'est de jaune et d'inde et de vert.
Et quant desvelopé tout fust
Hors de cele chasse de fust,
Li menbre, li osselement
5384 Furent moustré visiblement
A touz par la main(s) des prelas.
Lors a grant joie et a solas
Esperitel, ceus la baisoient
5388 Qui la furent et aouroient
En devocion et en lermes.
Et quant passa l'eure et li termes
De l'aourer ou cimetiere,
5392 Remis furent ensamble arriere
Touz les ossellemenz en toille;
Et beneie estoit celle
Et puis en un ardant samit
5396 L'un aprés l'autre touz les mit
Envelopéz de bon afaire
En un nuef escrin de tartaire
fol. 115*r* Cil de Laon. Puis sanz retraite
5400 En cele nueve chasse faite
Les mist, après laquele chose
Il a icele chasse close
Et fermee; puis [il] s'en vindrent.
5404 Par Quiquenpoit leur voie tindrent

5385 Or: *les mains?*

5391 Ms.: *cimetuere*, with second stroke of *u* deleted by dot.

5402 Ms.: *Il ai cele.*

5404 In 1300 the *rue Quiquampoix* was known as *rue Quiquempoist*, after the Seigneur de Quiquampoix, whose house stood there. Cf. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris*, II, 160.

Et par la Grant Rue tournerent
Sique par la Grant Porte entrerent.
E[n] tel guise et tele ordenance,
Con devant ai fait remenbrance,
Retourna la procession,
Mes tant y ot mutacion
Qu'a quatre moines fu livree
La viez chasse et de eus portee;
Et ceus de Saint Magloire estoient.
En laquel chasse qu'il portoient
Estoit et est a demourance
La moitié du cors sanz doutance
Saint Sanson de Dol arcevesques;
Les cors sains sont aussi avecques:
Saint Maclou et saint Sanator
Et saint Corentin, et encor
Ceste chasse avoit mout de gent
Et devant aloit bel et gent
fol. 115*v* Et la nueve estoit par derriere.
Et ces quatre, dont fiz arriere
Mencion qui la viez porterent,
La nouvelle lors raporterent
Ou saint Magloire seulement
Lors estoit mis nouvellement.
Quant cele chasse descendirent,
Devant le grant autel la mirent;
La du pueple fu aouree
Devotement et honoree.
Puis, quant passee fu la presse,
L'evesque de Laon la messe
Chanta; l'abbé de Saint Germain
Tint cuer, avec li main a main
L'abbé de Sainte Genevieve;
Chascun d'euz prent le chant et lieve.
Et ces deuz l'*Alleluya* dirent
Et avecq[ues] eus ausinc f[i]rent
L'abbé de Saint Denis en France
Et li quarz fu en acordance,
L'evesque de Sagonne en France,
. . . .
Ceus chanterent, si con me samble,
. . . .
L'*Alleluya* mout hautement
Et bien et mesureement.
Et quant la messe fu chantee,
La chasse refu aouree.
Puis ces nobles dames offrirent
E teles offrandes i mirent:

5440 Ms.: *Et avecqeus ausinc furent.*
5451 Ms.: *ses.*

Deuz dras de soie et un fermail
Doréz a pierres et esmail
Offri la roine Climence;
Jehanne, roine de France,
Deuz lampes d'argent bien dorees
A saint Magloire a presentees
Et un noble fermail encor
Et avec deuz riches dras d'or;
Madame Blanche de Bretaigne
Un fermail d'or, de riche ouvraigne;
Et la contesse ausinc de Dreues
Un autre; ainsi offrirent eus.
Et quant l'offrande fu passee,
La chasse fu haut eslevee
Sus le maistre ostel de l'eglise
Et encor i est en tel guise.

La translacion ai retraite
En la maniere qu'el fu faite
U jour dit et en cele annee.
Et sachiéz qu'en cele journee
fol. 116*v* Le temps fu cler et gracieus
Qui mout avoit este pluieus
Grant piece avant par la merite
De saint Magloire; et ce recite
Et croit conmune renonmee.
Or nous soit par li empetree
Grace et gloire au definement.
Amen. Diex l'ostroit bonnement!

En ce temps de translacion,
Faire doi bien narracion
De ceus qui lors seignorioient
Et qui les mestrises avoient.
Abbés estoit premierement
Home de bon entendement,
Courtois et douz et debonnaire
Et de religieus afaire:
Mesire Gobert droit par nom,
De Fraillicourt est le suernom.
Baudoin des Chanz lors prieurs
Estoit, home religieus
Et qui devotement sa cure
Metoit en la sainte escripture.
Souprieur lors et chantre ensamble
Fu Jehan Durant, ce me samble;
fol. 117*r* Tierz prieur, Thomas le Cirier,
Nicholas de Biausse, chambrier.
Blaive le Joine estoit prevost,
Home soutif, sage et devost;

5500 Ms.: *soutif g sage.*

Jehan de Rosai, chevecier
Qui bien savoit un chant drecier ;
P. Soupplainville, celerier,
5504 Et Jasques Guermont aumosnier
Et pitancier : ces deus offices
Faisoit cil qui n'estoit pas nices.
Jaques de Mesi, sougretains,
5508 Jehan Berchieres, ses conpains ;
Ceus officiaus furent lors.
Ces autres furent prieurs hors:
De Sainte Crois de Bris, Jehan
5512 De laqueue prieur cel an
Estoit; et Jehan de Monci
De Verssailles; prieur ausi
Jehan Chertain de Califerne;
5516 Thibaut du Gastel en gouverne
Chaumont lors tenoit en nom Dé
Et Jehan vie Saint Mandé.
Prieur de Saint Berthelemi
5520 Estoit adon[c] un bon ami
fol. 117*v* Cilz Jaques de Loncpré claméz;
De bones genz estoit améz
Et courtoisement se menoit.
5524 Guy de Monfort Monfort tenoit
En cele annee et en ce temps
En pais sanz noise et sanz contens.
Estoient touz ceus ci nonméz
5528 Et touz preudonmes renonméz.
Puis a la requeste et l'instance
De l'abbé, dont j'ai remenbrance
Fait par devant, et du prieur(z)
5532 Et des autres religieus,
Je, qui Gefroi des Nes me nonme
Nez de Paris, de ce saint home
Saint Magloire ai la vie traite

5511 Pagus Briacensis (La Brie), a county between the Marne and the Seine; cf. *Gall. Chr.*, VII, 320; and F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris 1930, IX, I, 785.

5514 The Priory of St. Julien of Versaille (Seine-et-Oise) was a dependency of the Abbey of St. Magloire, cf. L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, Macon 1935.

5515 Califurnum, or Chaufour (Seine-et-Oise), a villa in the diocese of Chartres; cf. Cottineau, *Rép. Topo-Bibl.*, 3347; and *D.A.C.L.*, IX, I, 792.

5517 The Priory of Chaumont, in the vicinity of Paris, was a dependency of the Abbey of St. Magloire; cf. Cottineau, *Rép. Topo-Bibl.*, 746.

5518 St. Mandetus (or S. Mandé) was a priory of the Abbey of St. Magloire in the arrondissement of Sceaux (Seine); cf. Cottineau, *Topo.*, 2778.

5524 The priory of St. Laurence of Montfort-l'Amaury (Mons fortis) in the arrondissement of Rambouillet (Seine-et-Oise) was a dependency of St. Magloire; cf. Cottineau, *Topo.*, 1947.

5536 En la manniere que retraite
Vous a esté, toute rimee
Du latin en françois tournee.
Je, Gefroi, fiz ce livre neuf
5540 L'an mil .ccc. et dis e neuf
Et le livrai, bien m'en remenbre,
Droit le premier jour de Novembre.
Si pri a celi qui ne ment
5544 Que aprés mon definement,
fol. 118r Par les merites saint Magloire,
Nous doint de paradis la gloire.

Gloire nous doint qui tout forma —
5548 C'est Diex qui d'ome u ciel forme a —
Qui tout le monde vost former
. . . .
Pour ce qu'Adam nous desforma
5552 Par pechie, Diex nous reforma;
Par sa mort nous vost reformer
Et [a] s'image conformer.
Or ne nous veillier desformer
5556 . . . .
. . . .
Saint Magloire nous enforma;
De bien nous vost il enformer.
5560 Penssonz nous d'a li transformer,
Si con a Dieu se transforma
. . . .
Trop avons esté desforméz.
5564 Or soions vers Dieu reforméz
Et chascun en bons fais se forme
Et saint Magloire le nous forme:
C'est la forme dont reformee
5568 Est toute chose desformee.
Chascun en bien faire s'enforme,
Con saint Magloire nous enforme,
Car s'a ses fais nous conformons
5572 Et a ses meurs nous enformons,
fol. 118v Diex est prest qu'a li nous transforme;
Liquiex est sanz nature forme,
Duquel nous avons formement
5576 Et tout bon autre enformement,
Et Diex nous doint si enformé
Siqu'u ciel soions transformé.

5551 Ms.: *qua adam.*

The Relationship of the Latin Versions of Ruysbroek's "Die Geestelike Brulocht" to "The Chastising of God's Children"[1]

G. B. DE SOER

THE recent appearance of a critical edition of *The Chastising of God's Children* and *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*[2] has served to emphasize the influence of John van Ruysbroek on medieval English spiritual thought. *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* is a close rendering of William Jordaens's Latin version of Ruysbroek's *Vanden Blinckenden Steen,*[3] and the greater part of chapters two, three, four, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve of *The Chastising of God's Children* consists of translations from Book II of the Dutch mystic's greatest work, *Die Geestelike Brulocht.* Although the critical edition showed clearly that the author of *The Chastising* did not use the original Middle Dutch text for his translations from Ruysbroek, the question of his immediate source was left open. For the purpose of the notes the Jordaens translation of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* was quoted, but the possibility that the translations were made from Gerard Groote's Latin rendering of the treatise was admitted.[4] From the state of the English text it has been possible for me to show that the Ruysbroek extracts which appear in *The Chastising* are indeed translations from Groote's Latin version, *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis,*[5] and are not from Jordaens's translation, *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum.*[6]

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[2] Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge, ed. *The Chastising of God's Children and The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* (Oxford 1957).

[3] E. Colledge, '"The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God": a fifteenth century English Ruysbroek translation' *English Studies* 33 (1952) 50-2.

[4] *The Chastising,* p. 45.

[5] Groote's translation was made sometime before Easter 1383, for Groote mentions it in a letter of that date. Epistola 54 in *Gerardi Magni Epistolae,* edited by W. Mulder, *Tekstuitgaven van Ons Geestelijk Erf,* Vol III (1933) p. 208.

[6] For a justification of the attribution of *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum* to William Jordaens, see André Combes: *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Gerson* Vol. I (Paris 1945). Jordaens's translation was written about 1360. Combes, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

The purpose of this article is to trace the descent of the Ruysbroek extracts in *The Chastising* from their Middle Dutch source, through the Latin version, to the English text, and to draw attention to the nature and cause of inaccuracies which have arisen on account of this complicated textual history.

Any study of a text descended from *Die Geestelike Brulocht* is complicated by the fact that there are two versions of that treatise, only one of which has been satisfactorily edited.[7] Professor L. Reypens S. J. recognised the existence of the two versions as long ago as 1920 and divided the extant manuscripts of the *Brulocht* into two groups according to which version they contain. He thinks that only one of these versions can be considered as the authentic text of Ruysbroek's work, and consequently he used manuscripts which contain that version as the basis of his critical edition. Manuscripts of the other version of the *Brulocht* were consulted for the edition, but their variant readings are rarely recorded.[8] Some knowledge of Ruysbroek's text in its second form was essential for this study, and photographic copies of a manuscript containing the second version were procured. The manuscript chosen was British Museum Additional 11487. In this manuscript the body of the text contains the second version of the *Brulocht*, but variant readings have been taken over here and there from a manuscript of the first version.[9]

For this study, comparison of the two versions has been limited to Book II. This comparison, as Professor Reypens' comments had led me to expect, reveals that the differences between the two versions are mainly restricted to unimportant details and do not affect Ruysbroek's doctrine.[10] There is rarely any serious discrepancy in meaning between the text of the critical edition and that of MS British Museum Add. 11487. The most distinctive feature of the second version is its tendency to give fuller readings; additional phrases or even sentences are very common. This difference between the two versions is well illustrated by the following examples. The text of the critical edition is given first, that of MS British Museum Add. 11487 follows.

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[7] The edition referred to is that published by the Ruusbroec-Genootschap, Malines and Amsterdam, 1934. Quotations in this article are from the second edition of the text; *Jan van Ruusbroec, Werken*, Vol. I, *Het Rijcke der Ghelieven* and *Die Geestelike Brulocht* (2nd, revised edition by J. B. Poukens S. J., and L. Reypens S. J., Tielt 1944). Hereafter this volume is referred to as *Brulocht*.

[8] L. Reypens, *Uit den Voorarbeid tot een critische Uitgave van Ruusbroec's "Brulocht"* (*Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1921, p. 79). *Brulocht*, p. xxxvi.

[9] At the end of MS British Museum Add. 11487 is the following information about its composition. "Gheeynt int iaer ons heren m cccc ende xcvij op sinte Katrinen dach, ghescreven ende wel ghecorrigiert wt twee oude perfecte boecken, daer dat een of was ghescreven int iaer ons heren doemen screef m ccc ende lxiij." According to Prof. Reypens, it was the manuscript written in 1368 (*sic*) which contained the first version of the *Brulocht* and was the source of the scribe's variant readings. *Brulocht*, p. xxxvi, n. 2.

[10] *Brulocht*, p. xxxvi.

Brulocht, p. 159.33.

> Si en rust op gheene bloeme, noch op gheene soeticheit ochte scoenheit. Maer si trecter ute honich ende was,

Add. 11487, f. 268ᵛ

> nochtan en rust si op gheen bloem om scoenheit of om soeticheit mer si doen eernstelike haren orbaer ende trechter wt honich ende was[11]

Brulocht, p. 169.12

> Bi-wilen werden dese arme liede berovet van eerschen goede

Add. 11487, f. 274ʳ

> Bi wilen worden dese arme luden oec biden ver/henghen gods beroeft van aertschen goede

Brulocht, p. 232.33

> Dese sijn na haren dunckene godscouwende menschen, ende si wanen die heilichste sijn die leven.

Add. 11487, f. 312ᵛ

> Dese menschen sijn nae haren duncken godscouwende menschen, mer wi noemense bet god/scuwende, want si scuwen hem van gode, ende alle men/schen sijnse sculdich te scuwen ghelijc den viant wtter hellen. Dese menschen wanen die heilichste te sijn die le/ven.

Brulocht, p. 235.8

> Ende hier-omme segghen si dat si God-lidende menscen sijn ende selve niet en werken, maer God werket al hare werke.

Add. 11487, f. 314ʳ

> Hier om segghen si dat si godlidende (314ᵛ) menschen sijn om dat si liden die werken die god in hem werct ende si en werken selve niet mer god werct al hear werken. Mer al staen si der werken ledich si en willen des verdienens ende des goets loens niet ledich sijn[12]

When the differences between the two versions had been established as far as my critical apparatus would permit, the Latin translations were compared with the Dutch texts. Although Jordaen's translation is so free that it is often difficult to recognise his source, *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum* seems to derive from the first version of Ruysbroek's treatise.[13] Groote's translation on the other hand shows greater affinity with the second version, as represented by the British Museum manuscript, than with the first version text of the critical edition. When the two versions diverge, *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* usually follows the second. The following passages from the two Latin translations correspond to the quotations from the Dutch versions given above. Jordaens's translation is quoted first; the text is that of the edition printed in Paris in 1512.[14] The text of the Groote translation is based on my collation of twelve manuscripts. These manuscripts are listed later in this article. Normally, the Groote text is quoted from MS Utrecht, University Library 282, to which I have given the siglum Utr. The printed edition of Jordaens's translation is referred to as J.

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[11] The manuscript reads "neerstelike" and not "eernstelike", but the emendation is sanctioned by the "seriose" of Groote's Latin and the "ernstlich" of the Low German recension of the *Brulocht*. A. von Arnswaldt, *Vier Schriften von Johann Rusbroek in niederdeutscher Sprache* (Hannover 1848) p. 59.

[12] "goets" is probably a scribal error for "groets": Groote has "a magno praemio".

[13] The extent of my investigations does not entirely preclude the possibility that Jordaen's translation bears some traces of second version influence. The Benedictines of St. Paul de Wisques, who published a French translation of the *Brulocht* in 1920, claim that such influence exists. S. Axters, *Geschiedenis van de Vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, Vol. II (Antwerp 1953) p. 289.

J. f. 33^r

> nullius floris pulchritudine, nulliusque capta dulcedine moras innectit, sed omnes passim et breviter circumvolvans aculei sui manu materiam extrahit mellis et cere.

Utr. f. 39^v

> Sed super nullo flore vel propter pulchritudinem vel propter dulcedinem conquiescit, sed propriam utilitatem seriose peragit, extrahens mel et ceram

J. f. 39^r

> sed etiam fre (39^v) quenter temporalibus possessionibus spoliatur.

Utr. f. 46^r

> Aliquando etiam huiusmodi pauperes homines ex divina permissione bonis exterioribus.. spoliantur.

J. f. 78^v

> Huius quidem vitae emulatores: sunt pro/pria sua aestimatione divinissimi contemplatores, cun/ctis viventibus sanctiores.

Utr. f. 92^r

> Hii enim omnes secundum eorum videre contemplativi sunt seu dei intuitivi, sed nos eos dei fugitivos nominamus quia deum fugiunt et fugant, et omnes homines ipsos sicut inimicum diabolum fugere tenentur. Isti homines credunt se fore sanctiores qui vivant[15]

J. f. 80^r

> huius rei causa, dei passibiles se appellant: dicentes se nichil omnino personaliter ope/rari. Sed quacunque agere videntur: non ea se, sed per eos quasi per instrumentum deum agere mentiuntur.

Utr. f. 93^v

> Dicuntque se fore homines deum patientes seu passivos ipsius dei, quia patiuntur hoc quod deus cum ipsis operatur. Quamvis autem vacui stent ab operibus et otiosi, nolunt tamen vacui vel soluti stare a merito et a magno praemio.

Although the evidence of the British Museum manuscript shows that Groote used a manuscript or manuscripts of the second version of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* when he translated that work, the same manuscript also contains evidence that the first version of Ruysbroek's treatise was known to his translator.[16] As has been stated already, the body of the text in MS British Museum Add. 11487 gives the second version of the *Brulocht*, but the margins contain readings taken from a manuscript of the first version. Unfortunately, not all these marginal additions can be taken as representing exclusively first version features. Without some of the marginalia the text would not make sense, and such readings are just as likely to have been in the scribe's second version exemplar, or other second version manuscripts, as in his first version copy.[17] Other phrases and sentences found in the margins, even though the text makes perfect sense without them, may similarly be nothing more than the restoration of readings common to both versions but omitted from the body of the text of the British Museum manuscript through scribal error. One marginal reading is described as a gloss, others may well be so.[18] Even when we take all this into consideration, the fact remains that of the thirty or so marginal readings in Book II of the text which are not essential to the sense of the passage they augment and which agree with the first version of the *Brulocht*, three-quarters appear in Groote's translation.

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[14] The explicit to the edition reads: "Libri Devoti et venerabilis patris Ioannis Rusberi presbyteri, canonici observantie beati Augustini, de ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum. Parrhisijs impressi per Henricum Stephanum calchographum e regione Scholae Decretorum. Anno salutis 1512 tertia die Augusti. Finis. Deo gratias. Amen."

[15] Only the Utrecht and Liège manuscripts read "Hii enim omnes", the rest have "Hic enim homines".

Furthermore, there are three places in Book II where a word agreeing with the text of the critical edition has been written above the word originally copied by the scribe. In two cases the original word has been crossed out, although remaining legible, in the other case the word remains uncancelled. On f. 261^{v} the scribe wrote "van vernederen"; "nederen" was later cancelled and "drucken" written above the line. The reading "van verdrucken" agrees with the critical edition (p. 149), and appears in *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* as "ab... depressione". In the phrase "der menscheliker natueren" on f. 270^{v}, "mensche" has been crossed out and "lijf" written in its stead. The first version reading is "der lijflijcker natueren" (p. 163), and the phrase is rendered by Groote as "nature corporali." If, as seems probable, the original readings in MS British Museum Add. 11487 were copied from the scribe's second version exemplar, whereas the corrections come from his first version manuscript, we have further evidence of Groote's knowledge of the first version of Ruysbroek's treatise. In the only other case in Book II of a word being written above the line, Groote follows the original, and this time uncancelled, reading. On f. 263^r the scribe wrote "die cracht der sonnen", a minute "hetten" was then written over "sonnen". The critical edition reads "die cracht der hitten" (p. 152), but Groote has "virtus solis."

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[16] It is impossible to say in what form Groote knew the first version. He may have had the full text of that version or merely a manuscript giving first version variants; a manuscript roughly similar to MS British Museum Add. 11487 but over a hundred years older.

[17] In the sentence "Ende aldus comen wi tot onsen erve der godheit in ewigher salicheit", "erve" has had to be supplied in the margin (f. 288v cf. *Brulocht* p. 192.25). Another necessary marginal addition is "minnen" in the phrase "noch in ghebrukeliker minnen niet en vijnden" (f. 310^{v}, cf. *Brulocht*, p. 229.22).

[18] F. 266 consists of a small piece of paper inserted between f. 265 and f. 267 on the verso side of which is written: "glosa: dat is een XII deel des ommeloeps der sonnen; die XII partijen hieten XII teykenen, daer of (cancelled) dit of hiet twilinghe." These words are indicated as referring to "tweelinc" on f. 267^{r}. Mr. E. Colledge was kind enough to look at the manuscript on my behalf and is of the opinion that this gloss is not in the scribe's hand but in one of approximately the same date.

Finally, it must be noted that not all the expansions of the first version text found in the second version manuscript are present in *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis*, nor do omissions on the part of MS British Museum Add. 11487 of sentences or phrases found in the critical edition always have their counterpart in the Latin.

Nothing less than a critical edition of the second version of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* would enable Groote's debt to the first version to be fully revealed, but, from the evidence of the British Museum manuscript, it seems clear that he consulted a manuscript or manuscripts of the first version while making his translation of the second. We may look on Jordaens's translation as deriving from the first version of Ruysbroek's treatise and Groote's translation as coming mainly from the second version but with some first version features.

The differences which arise between the Latin translations by virtue of their being primarily or entirely dependent on distinct versions of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* are many and various. Such differences are of the greatest importance as evidence of the translation used by the author of *The Chastising.* A comparison of the Middle English text and the two Latin translations reveals that Groote's translation is the immediate source of the Ruysbroek extract in *The Chastising.* In the numerous passages where *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* follows the second version of the *Brulocht* and *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum* the first, the English text clearly derives from Groote's reading. Here is the text of *The Chastising* for the four passages which have been quoted above.

Chastising, p. 107.15.

> but be the floure neuer so faire, or haue neuer so myche swetnesse, it restiþ up none, but wiseli dooþ hir profite, and drawiþ out hony and wax

Chastising, p. 110.11

> For þanne of his suffraunce þei leesen outward benefettis and likynges

Chastising, p. 139.5.

> þese men in þer owne si3t bien ful contemplatif, but in goddis si3t þei bien verray fugitiues, bicause þei haue runne awei and fledde fro god; and as thei be fledde from god, so it is nedeful þat al men fle awei fro hem, as from a gostli enemye. þese men wenen þat þei bien þe holiest men þat lyuen

Chastising, p. 142.22.

> þei seien also þat þei bien goddis pacientis, bicause þei suffren al þing þat god wil worche in hem; and al be it þei stonde voide fro al wirchyng, 3it þei wolen þerwiþ stond voide fro al rewardis and grete meritis.

The Middle English author never follows a reading peculiar to *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum*, and it would appear that it is from *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* and from that text alone that he took the Ruysbroek extracts for his work.

That the two Latin translations of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* with which we are concerned do not equally derive from the same version of that treatise is but one cause of their dissimilarity. Another lies in the style chosen by the respective translators. In both his *Planctus super obitu fratris Joahnnis de Speculo, alias De Cureghem* and his translation of the *Brulocht* Jordaens writes in cursus.[19] He almost invariably expands what Ruysbroek says and introduces more colourful vocabulary. He extends the metaphors of the original by further exploration of their possibilities and by their re-use in passages where Ruysbroek does not employ them. He also introduces additional imagery, often inspired by Scripture. In the letter to the Cistercians of Ter Doest with which he prefaces his translation he describes his work as re-clothing the sense of Ruysbroek's prose.[20] The garments he chooses are rather exotic, as the following examples, and the passages already quoted, show.

Brulocht, p. 231.2.

> Want alle natuerlijcke minne es hare selven hout ende neemt gherne eere inder tijt ende groten loen inder eewicheit.

J. f. 77^{v}.

> Amor siquidem naturalis favorabilis et benivolus est sibi ipsi: libensque recipit temporalis honoris ramusculos in hoc seculo et aeterne beatitudinis premia in futuro.

Brulocht, p. 158.29.

> Dit es dat weldichste leven, nader lijflijcker ghevoelijcheit, dat eenich

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[19] For a full discussion of Jordaens's cursus style in these two works see Combes, op. cit. p. 219 et seq. John van Kureghem was a confrère of Ruysbroek and Jordaens at Groenendael. He was the special friend of Jordaens, who wrote the *Planctus* to honour his memory· The Groenendael obituary mentions Jordaen's tribute and makes some apt comments on his style. "Anno Domini MCCCLVIII obiit frater Johannes de Cureghem, diaconus. Hujus vitam virtutibus plenam frater W(ilhelmus) Jordani curioso stylo neque minus veraci compendioseque depinxit." *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol IV (1885) p. 323, n. 3. The text of the *Planctus* is published in this number of *Analecta Bollandiana*.

[20] In his preface he states: "Acquieuimus itaque petitionibus vestris immo iubenti paruimus charitati, & ipsum de quo scripsistis librum transtulimus in latinum: seu potius libri sensum, latinis vestiuimus indumentis, & ob hoc forsitan peregrino vestitus habitu: aut mutatus aut minus amabilis ab vtriusque linguae sciolis habebitur. Cum tamen secundum vestrum Hieronymum optimus interpretandi modus sit vbi interpretantis linguae (si sic fieri valet) proprietas observatur." This is the text of the 1512 edition, f. 1^{r} (cf. n. 14). The preface from which this passage is taken and Book III of the translation have been edited by Combes (op. cit.) from MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 2384, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 921 and the 1512 edition. The only variant from the manuscripts which we need record here is "secundum beatum Ieronimum" for "secundum vestrum Hieronymum."

> mensche vercrigen mach op eertrijcke. Bi wilen wert die welheit soe groot, dat den mesce dunct dat sijn herte scoren sal van al desen menichfuldighen gaven ende wonderlijcken wercken.

J. f. 32r.

> Hec est deliciosior vita secundum cordis affectionem: que haberi potest ab homine in hoc terreno habitaculo constituto. interdum autem ebriosulus noster tanta pre divine dulcedinis influentia deliciarum ubertate repletur: ut cor eius quasi vasculum musto plenum absque spiraculo: subitam minetur rupturam.

That Groote's style is in complete contrast to these effusions can be seen from the extracts from *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* already quoted. The marked difference between the translations in this respect may not be purely accidental. For many years Groote maintained close contact with Groenendael (where Jordaens lived till his death in 1372 and Ruysbroek till his death in 1381) and it is unlikely that he was ignorant of the existence and nature of Jordaens's translation. The fact that he chose to make a second Latin version of the *Brulocht* may indicate that he was dissatisfied with the first. Whether he thought *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum* misrepresented Ruysbroek's doctrine,[21] or whether he thought its style unsuitable for general reading,[22] it is impossible to say, but the preface which he wrote to his own version, in which he describes his method of translation, seems to be written expressly to contrast with Jordaens's preface. Jordaens, we have seen, claims to re-clothe the sense of the original,[23] Groote prefers to keep closer to the words of the text. In his preface he states: "Hic liber, in teutonico ydiomate ab initio compositus, postea in latinum, non interpretatione sensus ex sensu, nec sententie ex sententia sed verbi fere ex verbo, sine stili lepore, translatus est." Jordaens, we have noticed, calls on the authority of St. Jerome to support his free rendering: the changes he has made are in the cause of good Latin.[24] Groote, on the other hand, is careful to point out that his Latin has suffered here and there on account of his close adherence to Ruysbroek's Dutch. "Nam non potuit verbi dumtaxat ex verbo translatio undique servare proprietatem sermonis." It seems probable that Groote, the austere promoter of the Devotio Moderna, thought Ruysbroek's simple treatise ill served by the free and lavish style of *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum* and desired to give the world a more accurate version.

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[21] In the opinion of the Benedictines of St. Paul de Wisques, Jordaens's translation accurately represents Ruysbroek's teaching. Combes, op. cit. p. 176.

[22] Jordaens wrote his translation at the request of the Cistercians of Ter Doest, and the Cistercians had literary traditions of their own. They cultivated highly artificial style, and would appreciate Jordaens's attempt to give the content of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* a form pleasing to them, for the charm of that work lies rather in simplicity of language than artificiality.

[23] See note 20.

[24] See note 20.

Groote adheres closely to the principles of translation set down in his preface. It rarely happens that his rendering differs appreciably from one or other version of the Dutch treatise. On this account, when discrepancies do occur, it would be rash to regard them as changes introduced by Groote; they are more likely to have their source in one of the manuscripts he used.[25]

[25] There are some discrepancies between *The Chastising* and Ruysbroek's text which are clearly occasioned by omissions in the Latin. Whether these omissions are the result of careless copying or emendations by Groote it is impossible to say with certainty. It is clear from Groote's letters that he thought that some of Ruysbroek's works might profitably be altered. In a letter of 1381 he recommends alterations to Ruysbroek's *Vanden VII Trappen* and *Vanden XII Beghinen*, and in another letter, dated shortly after Easter 1383, he conveys this message to the Groenendael religious: "fateor in eodem libro (the *Brulocht*), ut dixi alias vobis verba esse reformanda, et si simpliciter caperentur ut iacent, reprobanda... Crebrius vobis dixi ut ad reformationem niteremini". In the same letter he states that the *Brulocht* had been attacked by Henry von Langenstein. The letters mentioned above are Epistolae 24 and 54 respectively as published by W. Mulder, *op. cit.*, p. 107 and p. 207.

There are two passages in *The Chastising* which derive from readings in the Latin which may have been intentionally shortened by Groote.

Brulocht, p. 231.29

> ende met Gode vereenicht werden ende God met ons

The Groote text

> et... deo unimur

Chastising, p. 136.8

> and þerwiþ we bien ooned to god

Brulocht, p. 235.25

> Want de Gheest Gods en wilt noch en radet noch en werket in ne-gheenen mensce onghelijcke dinghen der leeren Cristi

The Groote text

> Nam certum est quod spiritus sanctus in nullo homine res doctrine christi... dissimiles operatur.

Chastising, p. 143.13

> for sooþ it is þat þe hooli goost wirchiþ in no man
> þat is contrarious to þe techyng of crist

The following passage may be an emendation of another kind.

Brulocht, p. 158, 1

> In deser weldicheit sinct hem God inder herten overmids sine gaven, met alsoe vele smakelijcs troosts ende vrouden, dat dat herte van binnen overvloeyt.

The Groote text

> In hac voluptate mittit deus in cor tantum saporose consolationis et letitie per sua dona quod ipsum cor ab intus supereffluit et superhabundat.

Chastising, p. 103, 1

> In this likynge god sendiþ to þe hert so grete sauori comfortis bi ȝiftis of gladnesse þat it thynkiþ for þe tyme he is fulfulled wiþ ȝiftis of goostli comfort.

On the other hand, as Groote is far from consistent in toning down Ruysbroek's statements about the relationship of God and the individual soul, the view that the above passages are the result of emendation must be advanced with caution. Groote renders quite literally

But in spite of the extreme literalness of Groote's translation, it does show some signs of stylistic licence. The translator often renders one word of Dutch by two Latin words. Sometimes this may be to obtain a closer translation, but usually it is a mere literary grace. Often these double renderings are followed by the English writer.

Brulocht, p. 228. 27
eest dat si hen ledighen connen van beelden ende van allen werken.
Utr. f. 89ʳ
si se liberare et evacuare sciverint ab omni imagine et ab omni actione vel opere.
Chastising, p. 131.4
if þei konne voide and deliuere hem fro al maner imagynaciouns and deedis and werkis.
Brulocht, p. 173.17.
Vremder sorghen draghen si vele; dicwile moeten si horen onwille hooren; met cleynen ocsune machmense stooren.
Utr. f. 49ᵛ
multas curas et sollicitudines portant extraneas, crebro quoque que eis displicent audiunt, levi occasione moventur et turbantur.
Chastising, p. 126.16
gladli þei beren outward charges and besinessis, and if þei here any word or matier of displesaunce, liȝtli þei bien stired and som tyme troubled
Brulocht, p. 170.26.
Alse dese ghesaette menschen.
Utr. f. 47ᵛ.
Et quando huiusmodi homines ordinati et stabiliti.
Chastising, p. 122.21.
And whan suche children ben perfitli ordeyned and stabled.

These passages show *The Chastising's* fidelity to Groote's text and its independence of Jordaens's extensive elaboration of Ruysbroek's treatise.

The knowledge that the author of *The Chastising* translated from the Groote version of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* can be of great value for the textual criticism of the English treatise only if a clear picture of the type of manuscript used by the English writer can be obtained. I shall now briefly mention the manuscripts of *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* which have so far come to light, the groups into which they fall, and their relation to the Middle English text.

Unlike *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum* Groote's translation has never been printed,[26] and the text of that work in the parts relevant to this study,

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such statements as: ende God in hem (*Brulocht*, p. 120.28) das es God sijn met Gode (*Brulocht*, p. 240.15) and "die besitte wij minlijcke in Gode ende God in ons" (*Brulocht*, p. 244.4).

Whether the result of emendation or not, the above passages provide further illustration that the author of *The Chastising* knew Ruysbroek's work through Groote.

[26] A critical edition of Groote's text is being prepared by a Dutch scholar, Ds. H. A. M. Douwes Jnr.

approximately one quarter of Book II, is based on my collation of twelve manuscripts. Seven of these are listed by J. G. J. Tiecke in *De Werken van Geert Groote.*[27] These are:

(I) MS Brussels, Bibl. Royale 1486 (1610-28) (Bru^1)
(II) MS Brussels, Bibl. Royale 4213 (14721-24) (Bru^2)
(III) MS Darmstadt, Hess. Landes- und Hochschulbibl. 400 (Dar)
(IV) MS Giessen, Bibliothek der Justus Liebig-Hochschule 753 (Gie)
(V) MS Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek germ. 4° 1398[28] (Mar)
(VI) MS Liège, Episcopal Seminary 6 N 8 (Lie)
(VII) MS Utrecht, University Library 282 (Utr)

The five others are:

(VIII) MS British Museum, Royal 6 B ix (Bri)
(IX) MS Mainz, Stadtbibliothek 156 (Mai)
(X) MS Princeton, Univer. Library, Robert Garrett Coll. of Medieval and Renaissance Mss 88 (Pri)
(XI) MS Trier, Stadtbibliothek 1669/350 (Tri)
(XII) MS Weimar, Thüringische Landesbibl. Qu 51 (Wei)

Another manuscript, MS Mainz, Stadtbibl. 557, contains only the third book of *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis.*[29]

The collation suggests the following grouping of manuscripts:

Group 1 Utr. Mai
Group 2 Bru^1 Lie Bri
Group 3 Bru^2 Tri (and, more distantly, Gie)
Group 4 Mar Wei (and, more distantly, Pri)

Dar is difficult to assign to any group, but seems nearest to Group 2. As stated above, the collation is of about a quarter of Book II only, and so it is unsafe to make any statement about the relationship between the manuscript groups and impossible to fix the position of the incomplete Mainz manuscript.

Of the above groups, the one which corresponds most closely to the Middle English text is Group 2, Bru^1 Lie and Bri. This affinity is best illustrated by the following passages. Early in Book II Ruysbroek writes:

Brulocht, p. 172.12

> Ende selcke namen gherne troost van Goede

The Groote text reads (Utr. f. 48^v).

> Quidam ex eis consolationem a domino adoptant

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[27] J. G. J. Tiecke, *De Werken van Geert Groote* (Utrecht and Nijmegen 1944).

[28] This manuscript was previously kept in Berlin and is referred to by Tiecke as Prussian State Library Germ. Q 1398.

[29] Tiecke's MS Darmstadt, Hofbibliothek 2653 contains, not *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis*, but an anonymous *Epistola de caritate.* Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

I am indebted to Ds. H. A. M. Douwes Jnr. for the information that Tiecke's MS Monte Cassino 597 contains Jordaens's translation and not Groote's.

At this point, however, there is a corrupt reading in the Group 2 manuscripts which is reflected in the Middle English.

Bru¹ Lie Bri.
> Quidam ex eis consolationem a deo exoptant

Chastising, p. 125.5.
> Sum men bi such infirmyte desiren comfort of god.

Introducing the metaphor of the double quartan fever, Ruysbroek says:

Brulocht, p. 175.18.
> Ute deser vervremtheit valt de mensce bi wilen in eene rede die heetet die dobbel quarteyne, dat es onachtsamheit.

All the Groote manuscripts name the two parts of the double quartan but show some diversity in the way they do so.

Utr Mai Bru² Tri Gie Dar
> primum in inadvertentiam secundum in negligentiam

Bru¹ Lie Bri
> id est inadvertentia sive negligentia, que est incuria

The Middle English is closer to the last rendering.

Chastising, p. 129.19
> þat is to seie, necligence or sleuth whiche is luyeng wiþout charge of besynesse.

In one passage Ruysbroek writes:

Brulocht, p. 231.28.
> Want de karitate es een minne-bant die ons overvoert, ende daer wij ons selves in verloechenen ende met Gode vereenicht werden ende God met ons.

Bru¹ Lie Bri have.
> Quia caritas est quoddam amoris vinculum quod nos transvehit et in quo nosipsos abnegamus et quo deo unimur.

None of the other manuscripts has "quod nos transvehit," but the Middle English reads:

Chastising, p. 136.7.
> For charite is a bond of loue, which drawiþ us to god, in which loue we forsaken oursilf, and þerwiþ we bien ooned to god.

Only in one instance does the text of *The Chastising* agree with a reading peculiar to a manuscript group other than that represented by Bru¹ Lie and Bri. In Ruysbroek's metaphor of the bee appear the words "op alle die gaven" (*Brulocht* p. 160.8). Group 4, Mar Wei and also Pri, render this correctly as "ad dona cuncta," but all the other Groote manuscripts have "bona" for "dona." The Middle English reads, "receyue his ȝiftis" (*Chastising*, p. 108.2) but more evidence would be needed before a direct connection between a manuscript of Group 4 and the English treatise could be presupposed.

Of the manuscripts of Group 2, Bri is more closely related to the English text than the other manuscripts. When Lie differs from Bru¹ and Bri, the Middle English always follows the reading of the second two manuscripts, and only on one occasion is a variant found in Bru¹, but not in Lie or Bri, reflected in the English text.

Brulocht, p. 171.32.
Van overtollighen humoren.
Bru¹
Etiam ex innaturalibus humoribus.
Chastising, p. 124.13.
Also sum tyme of vnkyndeli humours.

All the other Groote manuscripts read "naturalibus" for "innaturalibus," except for Bru² and Wei, in which the adjective agrees with that used in Bru¹.

There are, however, several readings peculiar to Bri which clearly affect the text of *The Chastising*. I quote the more outstanding examples. In one passage Ruysbroek writes:

Brulocht, p. 233.19
ende si en hebben bekinnen noch minnen noch willen noch bidden noch begeren.
The Groote text reads (Utr. f. 82ᵛ).
Nec volunt habere cognitionem nec amorem nec orationem nec desiderium.[30]

Bri replaces "orationem" by "honorem," which change is shown in the Middle English.

Chastising, p. 140.7
þei wolen haue no knowyng ne loue ne desire ne worship to god.

For, although "worship" is often used to translate "laus," the Middle English author also uses it to translate "honor" (Cp. p. 123.14, p. 129.6, p. 134.21).

The following passage is also of interest.

Brulocht, p. 174.1
ende in desen tide willen si swighen.
The Groote text (Utr. f. 50ʳ)
per aliquam moram et per aliquod tempus volunt servare silentium.[31]

Bri reads "horam" not "moram", and the Middle English seems to follow a similar reading.

Chastising, p. 127.13
oo certeyn tyme or oon houre þei woln kepe silence

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[30] Groote is here following the second version of the *Brulocht*: (f. 313ʳ) "noch si en willen hebben bekennen noch minnen noch bidden noch begheren".

[31] Once again, the second version is clearly Groote's source: (f. 277ʳ) "ende nu in desen tyde willen si silencie houden."

Very strong evidence for the close affinity between Bri and the English text is provided by the following passage if, as seems likely, "þe þre", the reading found in the English editors' preferred manuscript Bodley 505, and also in six other manuscripts, is the original reading, "þese" (MS British Museum Add. 33971 and MS St. John's College Cambridge E. 25) a corruption, and "þe two" (MS Jesus College Oxford 39, MS Bodleian Laud. misc. 99 and the Wynkyn de Worde printed edition) an attempted correction.

Brulocht, p. 232.29.
> Ende hier beghint die derde contrarie die alre scadelijcst es.

The Groote text (Utr. f. 91^v).
> Tunc hic tertia contrarietas que duabus predictis amplius est nociva incipit.

Bri, however, reads "tribus" instead of "duabus," and this would explain the inconsistency in the Middle English.

Chastising, p. 138.18
> þerfor aftir þis begynneth þe þrid contrarious lyueng, whiche is worse þan any of þe þre which I haue rehersed.

From the above passages it seems clear that, of the twelve manuscripts of *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis*, the only manuscript now in England, and, it is considered, of English provenance, is the most closely related to *The Chastising of God's Children*.[32] It is, of course, quite possible that the author of the English treatise used several different Latin manuscripts for his work, but the slight amount and trivial nature of the evidence in favour of his having known manuscripts of a group other than that represented by Bru^1 Lie and Bri, or indeed of his having used any manuscript other than one very similar to Bri itself, make it a likely assumption that he knew only one text of Groote's translation.

Although there is a marked similarity between the text of *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* in Bri and the source of the English author's translation, there is no question of their being identical. An incorrect reading in Bri does not always result in an inaccurate Middle English reading, and the correctness of the English rendering cannot always be attributed to intelligent emendation. To quote but two examples:

Brulocht p. 233.24
> ende hebben al ghelaten.

The Groote text (Utr. f. 92^v)
> et... omnia dimiserunt.

Bri
> et... omnia dei sunt.

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[32] I am indebted to Mr. A. I. Doyle for the information that MS British Museum Royal 6 B ix is of English workmanship.

Chastising, p. 140.11
> and... þei han forsake al þinges.

Brulocht, p. 170.32
> dat sal men Gode gherne offeren vrielycke.

The Groote text (Utr. f. 47v)
> libenter et libere omne illud deo debet offerre.

Bri
> libenter et libere omne illud debet sufferre.

Chastising, p. 123.4
> gladli þe soule offreþ þat to oure lord.

Such readings show clearly that the author of *The Chastising* did not translate from Bri itself or from a pure descendant of that manuscript; nor did he use a direct ancestor of Bri, for there are a few passages where Bri reads correctly but where the English seems to derive from a corrupt Latin text. Notable examples of this are:

Brulocht, p. 232.17
> ende si offerden (i. e. offerde Hem) den Vader met al sinen dogene in mildichieden.

The Groote text (Utr. f. 91v).
> Ipsumque cum omni sua passione deo patri obtulit in largitate.

The Middle English seems to follow a Latin manuscript which reads "possessione for "passione."

Chastising. p. 137.9
> also she offrid up þat worþi lord hir dere sone to þe fadir of heuene wiþ hir worldli possessions, and wiþ al maner plente or largete of herte.

MS Brit. Mus. Add. 11487, f. 314v.
> Mer al staen si der werken ledich si en willen des verdienens ende des goets loens niet ledich sijn.[33]

The Groote text (Utr f. 93v)
> quamvis autem vacui stent ab operibus et otiosi, nolunt tamen vacui vel soluti stare a merito et a magno premio.

An incorrect "uolunt" for "nolunt" in the manuscript used by the English author would best explain the contradiction of Ruysbroek's doctrine in the English treatise.

Chastising, p. 143.1
> and al be it þei stonde voide fro al wirchyng, ȝit þei wolen þerwiþ stond voide fro al rewardis and grete meritis.

The question of discrepancies in meaning between the English treatise and the Dutch text deserves fuller examination. We have seen that some of the inaccuracies arise from faults in the English author's Latin text. It has been pointed out that, although some of the corrupt readings followed by the English writer are not found in any of the known Latin manuscripts, others appear in Bri. Others have still wider currency. Early in Book II Ruysbroek writes:

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[33] See note 12.

Brulocht, p. 157.21
soete reghen nuwes inwindichs troosts.

Only the manuscripts of Group 4 render this correctly as:

dulcis pluvia nove interioris consolationis.

All the other manuscripts have "contemplationis" for "consolationis," and the Middle English follows the incorrect reading.

Chastising, p. 102.16
a swete reyn of an inward biholdynge.

The last noteworthy fault followed by the author of *The Chastising* is found only in Dar, a manuscript which shows some affinity to those of Group 2.

Brulocht, p. 175.6
met cleynen werken.
The Groote text (Utr. f. 51r)
ex modicis tamen operibus.

Dar has "virtutibus" for "operibus," and the Middle English reads:

Chastising, p. 129.6
and for a fewe uertues.

Another source of error in the English treatise lies, not in the inaccuracy of the Latin text used by the English author, but in the ambiguity of the Latin translation. Speaking of natural rest, Ruysbroek says:

Brulocht, p. 229.32.
Dese raste in haer selven en es gheene sonde.
The Groote text reads (Utr. f. 89v).
Ista quies in sua propria essentia non est peccatum.

As natural rest is rest in one's own nature (v. *Brulocht*, p. 228.25), the English writer may have thought that "sua" referred to the man experiencing this rest and not to the rest itself, for he writes:

Chastising, p. 132.19
and suche reste in his owne propir beyng is no synne.

It is, however, possible that "his" refers to "reste." A less disputable error is seen in the writer's translation of the conjectured "cum omni sua possessione" mentioned above, for the "sinen" of the Middle Dutch refers to Christ. The Middle English preserves one ambiguity of the Latin. The subject is once again natural rest; Ruysbroek writes:

Brulocht, p. 228.20
ende hier-omme werdet raste ghesocht van goeden ende van quaden in menigher wijs.

Here "goeden" and "quaden" obviously refer to men.

The Latin reads (Utr. f. 89^r)

> Ideo quies tam a bonis quam a malis diversis modis queritur.

The author of *The Chastising* seems to take "bonis" and "malis" as well as "diversis" as adjectives qualifying "modis."

Chastising, p. 130.18.

> so þat reste is souȝt in diuers maners, as wele of goode as of badde.

It is possible, however, that "goode" and "badde" are meant to be understood as "good men" and "bad men"; the passage remains ambiguous.

I now wish to leave the peculiarities of the Latin manuscripts and to say something of the variant readings of the manuscripts of *The Chastising* itself. Since Groote was a close translator, and since we can obtain a reasonably clear picture of the slightly differing versions of *Die Geestelike Brulocht* from which he translated, the text of *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* can be established with a high degree of probability from the twelve available manuscripts. A comparison of the Latin translation and the English variants clearly shows the worth of manuscript Bodley 505, the manuscript which the editors make the basis of their critical edition. Only in a few details are readings provided by manuscripts other than Bodley 505 to be preferred, and only the following variants are of any importance for the good sense of the text.

Chastising, p. 124.9.	
Bodley 505	desire
Widely recorded variant	delite
The Groote text (Utr. f. 48^r)	delectationem
Chastising, p. 126.21.	
Bodley 505	turned
Widely recorded variant	tarid
The Groote text (Utr f. 50^r)	impediti
Chastising, p. 133.1	
Bodley 505	exercises and uertues
Widely recorded variant	exercises of uertues
The Groote text (Utr f. 89^v)	virtutum operibus
Chastising, p. 142.21	
Bodley 505	worchiþ
Widely recorded variant	wirkes be þayme
The Groote text (Utr f. 93^v)	per istos operatur

With very few exceptions, manuscript Bodley 505 retains what the author of *The Chastising* must originally have written, wherever this can be shown by Groote's Latin.

The Middle English text is no slavish translation of Groote's version of *Die Geestelike Brulocht*. Sometimes the author translates word for word, at other times he paraphrases. He often omits passages found in his source, and is inclined to bring in his own ideas. He has his own ends in view as he writes and merely uses *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* as raw material. His choice of Groote's translation, if choice it was, is understandable. Its plain style would recommend it to him as being more amenable to his purpose, the composition of a series of instructional readings for a convent, than Jordaens's polished periods.

Although the author of *The Chastising* uses his source freely, he gives an accurate account of Ruysbroek's doctrine. The discrepancies which arise between the English text and the Dutch treatise seem attributable to corruptions in the manuscript used by the English author or to ambiguities in Groote's Latin.[34]

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[34] After this article was written, my attention was drawn to the fact that Dr. A. Ampe, S. J. of the Ruusbroec-Genootschap has recently shown that the author of *The Chastising* used Groote's translation and not Jordaens's. In his article 'De Vroegste Ruusbroec-Verspreiding in Engeland' (*Ons Geestelijk Erf*, No. 4. 1957) Dr. Ampe quotes two extracts from the English treatise (*Chastising*, p. 102.3-p. 102.9 and p. 122.10-p. 123.3) and gives the corresponding passages in the Latin translations. He quotes Groote from MS Utrecht, University Library 282 and Jordaens from the 1512 edition. The Latin translations are sufficiently different in the extracts given for the English author's debt to Groote to be revealed. Dr. Ampe is not concerned in his article with the use of *De ornatu spiritualis desponsationis* for the textual criticism of *The Chastising*.

The "Tractatus de Assumpto Homine" by Magister Vacarius

(STUDY AND TEXT)

NICHOLAS M. HARING

I

BORN in Lombardy about 1115-1120, Vacarius studied and taught law rather than theology and, for that reason, became better known as a jurist before historians turned to the theologian Vacarius. In 1897, W. F. Maitland published a work called Magistri Vacarii *Summa de matrimonio*[1] and, thirty years later, F. De Zulueta edited the *Liber Pauperum*,[2] a law manual which was, in the opinion of a mediaeval chronicler, sufficient to decide *omnes legum lites quae in scholis frequentari solent.*[3]

In 1945, Ilarino da Milano increased our knowledge of Vacarius' literary activities by an edition of the *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores* (Ms. Vat. Chigiano A. V. 156, fols. 4v-26), written by Vacarius against one Hugh Speroni, "once his schoolmate and friend".[4] In this publication, Da Milano gives us a reprint of Vacarius' introduction to the *Tractatus de Assumpto Homine* copied from Maitland's edition of the *Summa de matrimonio*.[5] A complete edition of this *Tractatus de Assumpto Homine* should prove to be particularly helpful in an analysis of the last chapter in Vacarius' work against Speroni where he returns to what appears to have been a favorite subject with him, the question of the Hypostatic Union.

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[1] *The Law Quarterly Review* 13 (1897) 133-143 introduction; 270-287 text: reprinted in London in 1898. Maitland (p. 132) credits F. Liebermann (*Engl. Hist. Review* XI, 305) with the discovery of the *Summa* and the *Tractatus*. The first work on Vacarius was written by Carolus Fridericus Christianus Wenck under the title: *Magister Vacarius, primus iuris romani in Anglia professor* (Lipsiae 1820). Wenck discusses only the *Liber Pauperum* (pp. 57 ff.). In an appendix to his introduction, Maitland has transcribed (pp. 142 f.) the first six paragraphs of our tract. The contents of the manuscript (Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Ii. 3. 9) are listed in the *Catalogue of the University Library in Cambridge* III (Cambridge 1858) 412-415. The *tractatus* on fols. 145-150 is followed by the *Summa* on fols. 150-157. A good summary of Vacarius' life and works is found in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* 20 (1909) 80 f. See also T. E. Holland, *The Univ. of Oxford in the Twelfth Century*, in Montague Burrows, *Collectanea*, second series, Oxf. Hist. Society 16 (Oxford 1890) 165-170. H. Rashdall, *The Univ. of Europe* III (Oxford 1936) 19-21. F. Pollock - F. W. Maitland, *The History of Engl. Law* I (1898) 118 f.

[2] *Selden Society* 44 (London 1927). On pp. XIII-XXIII, Zulueta presents and evaluates the known facts of Vacarius' life. The last definite date is 1198 as results from the *Chronica* Rogeri de Hoveden; ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series IV, 75. Cf. A. Potthast, *Reg. Pont. Rom.* I (Berlin 1874) 33, No. 347. The *Liber Pauperum* is an abridgment, in nine books, of the *Digest* and *Code* of Justinian. It was composed in 1149.

[3] Appendix ad Sigebertum; MGH *SS* 6, 498.

[4] Ilarino da Milano, *L'Eresia di Ugo Speroni nella confutazione del Maestro Vacario* Studi e Testi, 115, Vatican City 1945) 475-583.

The heading of that last chapter reads: *Quod Christus in unitate personae fuit etiam humana substantia contra caecam doctrinam eorum qui hoc negant.*[6] In the concluding lines of the chapter Vacarius remarks that he had previously discussed the matter *in quibusdam aliis meis opusculis.*[7] Our *Tractatus* must have been one of those *opuscula.* In fact, Vacarius explicitly refers to it in the introduction to his *Summa de matrimonio* which begins: *Duo sola sunt quae audacem me semper faciunt ad scribendum, videlicet communis utilitas et veritatis amor et quia scriptum est: Quaerite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis* (*Matth.* 7:7). *Hinc etenim illud peculiariter solet accidere mirandum ut quod scientia non habet, id plerumque sollicitudo et studium quaerentis inveniat — sicut et mihi accidit in eo opusculo quod* DE HOMINE ASSUMPTO *scripsi. Rem quippe arduam et meae parvitatis scientiam et vires excedentem dono magis divini muneris prosecutus sum.*[8]

The date of this *Summa de matrimonio* is considered to be 1156 or shortly after.[9] Milano[10] suggests that Vacarius wrote our *Tractatus* during the period of silence imposed upon him by King Stephen in 1149. This *terminus a quo* (1149) is supported by internal evidence or by the general tenor of the treatise. Since Maitland puts the date of the *Summa de matrimonio* in 1156 or shortly after,[11] we can safely hold that, being mentioned in the preface to the *Summa*, our *Tractatus* was written before 1156. Hence its approximate date is 1150-1155.

According to J. de Ghellinck[12] both the *Tractatus de Assumpto Homine* and the *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores* must be anterior to 1177 when Pope Alexander III denounced and censured the theory that Christ as man is not an *aliquid*.[13] However, the same Pontiff had already pronounced against this theory as early as May 28, and June 2, 1170.[14] The first of these decretals was not unknown in England, for John of Cornwall transcribed it in his *Eulogium* to Alexander III,[15] written when the Lateran Council of 1179 was imminent. On the other hand, following the estimate proposed by Da Milano,[16] the movement inspired by Hugh Speroni is dated 1177-1185 by H. Pouillon[17] and A. Mens.[18] We know that Vacarius' *Liber* is a reply, written in England, to a book "which my nephew Leonard passed on to me in your (Speroni's) name".[19] Hence the *Liber* was written during the late seventies or the early eighties, in other words, some twenty-five to thirty years after the *Tractatus de Assumpto Homine*.

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[5] Da Milano, pp. 585-587. Maitland, pp. 142 f.

[6] Da Milano, p. 572.

[7] Da Milano, p. 583.

[8] Ms. Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Ii. 3. 9, fol. 151^{vb}. Maitland, p. 270.

[9] Da Milano, p. 91.

[10] Da Milano, p. 96. According to T. E. Holland (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*) Vacarius wrote it as prebendary of Northwell. He was rewarded with the prebend of Northwell "some time before 1167".

[11] *Law Quarterly Review* 13 (1897) 100.

[12] "Magister Vacarius", *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 44 (1949), 175.

[13] Letter to William, Archbishop of Rheims, dated February 18, 1177.

[14] Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Reg. Pont. Rom.* II (Leipzig 1888) Nos. 11806 and 11809. PL 200, 685BC and 684CD.

If that is so, Vacarius must have done very little to familiarize himself with contemporary theology which was anything but stagnant at his time. This remark, however, is meant to be factual, not derogatory, for Vacarius was a jurist by training and admits, as we have seen, that in writing on the Incarnate Word he took on an "arduous task that surpassed my humble knowledge and the range of my ability".[20] Although this was intended to be an expression of humility, it was also meant to be a tribute to the divine help received in the execution of the task: *Rem ... dono magis divini muneris prosecutus sum.*[21]

Vacarius, we should note, did not rely on the help of contemporary theologians who had been grappling with his problem for some years. His *auctoritates* are Augustine, Jerome, Claudianus, and Boethius. It is accordingly difficult to establish a school affiliation. But if we hold that the three theories on the Hypostatic Union proposed by Lombard are an adequate representation of the schools of thought predominant in the middle of the twelfth century, we must classify Vacarius as a follower of the first group. When he maintains *quod homo Iesus in Deo per unitatem personae ab initio saeculi fuerit*,[22] he still speaks the language of Hugh of St. Victor some forty years after Hugh's death.

During those forty years theology had made remarkable progress not so much in solving as in clarifying the question of how God became man. The answers varied both in clarity and animosity. The arguments often ended in a stalemate but opponents refused to admit defeat. Robert of Cricklade describes such a personal debate and declares finally that he silenced his opponent: *Obmutuit ille confusus*,[23] while another contemporary of Vacarius' complains that many stubbornly declined even to listen to the opposition. As the Cistercian Everard puts it: "They do not wish to part in their old age with what they learned in their youth".[24] John of Cornwall relates that he attended many lectures and disputations conducted by Robert of Melun (d. 1167) and Maurice, bishop of Paris (1160-96). He candidly admits that they changed his mind, though not without reluctance on his part: *Mihi tamen non facile nec cito potuerunt avellere quod diu tenueram.*[25] Until then he had been opposed to the first theory.

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[15] *Eulogium ad Alexandrum*; ed. Haring, *Mediaeval Studies* 13 (1951) 257.

[16] Da Milano, pp. 59-75.

[17] *Bull. de Théol. Anc. et Méd.* 5 (1946-9) no. 1401.

[18] *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 42 (1947) 458.

[19] Da Milano, p. 476.

[20] *Summa de matrimonio*, fol. 151vb.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*, 32; ed. Ilarino da Milano, p. 574.

[23] R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the late Twelfth Century,' *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Soc.* 19 (1936) 38.

In a letter to Pope Urban III (1185-7) Everard attacks a doctrine which closely resembles the theory criticized by Vacarius. He suspects it of disguised Eutychism, for Eutyches, we are told, taught that, being one person Christ was only one substance, or one essence, or one nature.[26] "Some Parisians", so Everard declares, "agree with this. For they say that there is but one essence in Christ, namely the divine essence. Hence they should conclude that there is only one nature. Yet, knowing that the denial of two natures in Christ has been condemned as heresy, they take the word 'nature' to mean the body and soul of Christ, though it is manifest to all that body and soul *differ* in substance and thus in nature".[27]

Vacarius maintains in his work against Speroni: "They claim that Christ was but one substance or nature or form, namely a divine one, not a human one". On the next page he declares: "They... teach that one and the same substance, *viz.*, the divine one only and no other, is both God and man".[28] He also indicates the reason for this teaching: *Turbantur enim ex eo quod dicitur Christus humana esse substantia, cum non dubitetur eum esse divinam. Ex eo consequens est ut sit duae substantiae et ita sit duo.*[29] Vacarius grants that the statement: *Christus est duo* is not found anywhere but he is nevertheless convinced that God and man in Christ are two realities.[30]

The opposition, as presented by Vacarius, did not exactly deny this: *Nam quod gemina substantia sit Filius Dei, non absurde dicitur, quamvis illi aliiam dicti non quod gemina substantia sed quod geminae substantiae sit concei*

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[24] *Epistola Everardi*, 18; ed. Haring, *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955) 167: "Nam etsi aliqui sint, qui eis sanam doctrinam proponant, tamen quia aliter didicerunt, eos audire nolunt. Nam perdere nolunt senes quod juvenes didicere".

[25] *Eulogium*, 4; ed. Haring, p. 268.

[26] *Epistola Everardi*, 14; ed. Haring, p. 166.

[27] *Epistola Everardi*, 15; p. 166.

[28] Da Milano, pp. 576 f.

[29] Da Milano, p. 578.

[30] Da Milano, p. 580: "Si quaeras an dicendum sit quod Christus sit duo, cum sit utraque substantia, scilicet divina et humana, quamvis forte nusquam inveniantur haec verba authentice scripta, cur non debeat dici, ratio non occurrit, nisi illa locum habeat hic qua verborum novitatem (1 *Tim.* 6:20) vitare jubemur". Cf. Everard, *Ep. ad Urbanum III;* ed. Haring, p. 165: "Christus est homo, Christus est Deus; igitur Christus est duo. Non sequitur".

dant.[31] The basic reason for this distinction must be seen in the identification of (rational) substance and person. The opposition obviously agreed that if Christ is two substances, he must be two persons: *Ex eo consequens est ut sit duae substantiae et ita sit duo.*[32] Hence they refused to say that Christ is two substances, though they admitted that He is *of* two substances. By making this distinction, they saved the substantial, or rather personal unity, of Christ and used the word "substance" in the sense of nature.

Although Vacarius quotes St. Augustine to defeat his opponents, he could be reminded of the fact that such texts had to be interpreted properly. Above all, the meaning of *substantia* and the relationship between rational substance and person needed clarification, for there is no denying that in identifying human substance and person the opposition tended to deny a human substance in Christ. They did not deny that, by itself, Christ's soul was a substance, or that, by itself, His body was a substance. They did deny that Christ was either one or the other of these substances; they denied that, *as man*, Christ was a substance resulting from the union of those two substances *viz.*, from the union of His body and soul. As a concrete reality, they held, *Christ* was of course a substance and as such a person. Being a divine person, He was necessarily a divine substance. In the Incarnation, they reasoned, Christ did not assume a fully constituted human substance because He did not assume a person but a human nature whose components were two substances.

We may also express the same view by saying that Christ did not assume a person because what he assumed was not a fully constituted human substance. We may put this in terms more common during that period and say that Christ *as man* was not an *aliquid*. One premise was above dispute in this controversy, the premise that the Divine Word did not assume a human person. The controversy concerned the relationship between human substance and human person. And a great deal depended on the proper formulation of the doctrine. We have seen, for instance, that they denied the statement: Christ is a dual substance (*gemina substantia*), yet accepted the statement: Christ is *of* a dual substance. Hugh of St. Victor had already complained: *Quaerunt hi quotidie homines quid dicendum sit — et quid credendum, raro.*[33] In other words, Hugh felt that more should be left to faith than to the daily query about its proper formulation.

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[31] Da Milano, p. 581.

[32] Da Milano, p. 578.

[33] *De Sacr.* II, 1, 11; PL 176, 405CD.

II

Those who maintained that it was wrong to say: *Christus ut homo est aliquid*, refused to accept another formula which, in its final grammatical analysis, would amount to the same error: Christ as man is *aliquis* or *aliquis homo*. Properly analysed, it would mean that Christ as man is a person. Hence they admitted that Christ is man or *homo* but not *aliquis* or *aliquis homo*. Vacarius once had a discussion (*collatio*) about the "Assumed Man" with a scholar of whose name we know only the initial B. Then he consulted a great many people to trace the origin of, and the main reason for, the view held by this scholar. In the opening chapter of the *tractatus*, written in the form of a letter, Vacarius summarizes his opponent's theory as follows: *Summa vero eiusdem opinionis ea est ut* NON *sit* ALIQUIS HOMO *qui pro nobis interpellet quem susceperit Deus-Verbum sed animam et corpus tantum assumpsit* (1).[34]

The *urgentissima ratio* given for this opinion has a strongly grammatical flavour: "If we confess that *he* has been assumed *who* (*is qui*) consists of body and soul, we must say that a *person* was assumed by the Word". The truth, according to this opinion, is that when we say: "The Word assumed human nature or man", we mean only a human soul and human flesh *without their union*. This, as Vacarius tells us, is the famous doctrine invented by some modern *magistri*. This, we learn, is the road most generally followed and travelled in our schools today (2).

The fact that such a thory is not supported by any *auctoritas* is quite clear to Vacarius though he admits that there may be a few texts with a shade of meaning favorable to it. That, however, is less important than the fact that the scholars defending the doctrine have their set rules enabling their followers to elude the *auctoritates* in order to protect themselves: *Regulas tamen suas habet et traditiones quibus maiorum auctoritates eludere possit, ut suum defendat errorem* (3). Vacarius complains that as soon as an *auctoritas* is held against them they promptly apply their rules and declare that, being an *auctoritas*, it needs "exposition and interpretation", though there is a law saying that an interpretation is null and void if it contradicts the obvious sense of the words. On every possible occasion they accuse their critics of hairsplitting (3).

As Vacarius sees it, they treat the human nature in Christ in such a way that, while they appear to allot the entire nature to Christ by granting Him both a rational soul and human flesh, they destroy it by denying that the substance of the Man himself consists of them (3). We learn that Vacarius once raised the question: Since the Infant whom the Magi adored was a substance, what substance was it? And some answered him that it was a divine and not a human substance. Such and similar questions and answers prompted Vacarius to take up his pen — not without prayers, however (4).

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[34] The numbers in brackets refer to the numeration of paragraphs in this edition of the *Tractatus*.

The writer finally urges the reader to submit his exposition to a careful examination and to correct imprudent statements before anybody else may get hold of the tract. Vacarius then states: To the utmost of my ability and with the help of both reason and authority have I endeavoured to show which view about the Assumed Man has the greater foundation in truth, the view that holds that the act of assuming body and soul did not produce one single substance of a man in Christ or the view that teaches that the union of body and soul was such as to produce one single man consisting of one perfect human substance such as we find in any other man (5).

Vacarius now announces his intention to explain that the Assumed Man is a single substance consisting of soul and flesh, a substance which supports the properties of human nature. It is, it will be shown, not a divine substance. A man, Vacarius continues, is indeed a person. Yet we say that *He* was assumed and not a person. Such names as "Christ" or "Lord of glory" or "Giant of a dual substance" are names meaning *two* substances, but not so the name "God". Hence *Christ* — not God, not man — is said to be one person consisting of a dual substance. As a result, God is, truly and properly speaking, an *aliquid*, for He is man (6).

In accordance with this plan, Vacarius first shows that Christ had a perfect human nature enabling Him to speak, weep and smile, eat, drink, sleep and be awake. Since the divine substance cannot partake in the actions and changes characteristic of human nature, we must conclude that in Christ, there was another substance which served as their substratum. This, we are told, is the evident teaching of the authorities and of the daily rule of our faith which says: "A perfect God, a perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul and human flesh" (7-9).

Vacarius concedes that his opponents do not deny all this. They hold, however, that what the Word assumed was not *aliquis homo.* So Vacarius raises the question: If, as you maintain, there was no substance in Christ which was not either God or soul or flesh, to which of these then do you attribute the function of serving as a substratum for the qualities, actions and passions of His human nature? For if I ask of you: which substance was the substratum of colour in Christ? You reply at once: not God, not the soul, but His body. If I enquire about thoughts of justice and piety, you do not hesitate to assign them to Christ's soul alone (10). But there are certain activities such as the activities of our senses which presuppose the *composition* and union of body and soul. How can we utter a sensible word unless our tongue is the instrument of a rational soul? Vacarius is convinced that this consideration must put his opposition to shame: *Erubescat ergo vestra philosophia has proprietates et cete-*

ras absque suo subiecto i.e. substantia animata sensibili tribuere Christo nisi talem ei concedat substantiam (11).

In comparing Christ's human substance with that of other human beings, Vacarius professes that it was a substance "which, as we know from tradition, had nothing less than any other man". That is the reason why we say that He was a perfect man consisting of a rational soul and human flesh. With the words: *His rationibus et auctoritatibus consonant Augustini verba,* Vacarius now introduces three Augustinian texts, all of which are taken from St Augustine's *Enarrationes.* He first points to the terminology adopted by Augustine and concludes that such a sentence as *qui interpellat pro nobis* clearly expresses a human, not divine, substance (12-14).

The opposition, Vacarius tells us, reasoned that a person must have been assumed if *the Man who intercedes for us* — *homo ille qui pro nobis interpellat* — was assumed, for such a man is indeed a person. This, as Vacarius admits, is in itself a very sound argument. And his opponents confess that it made them change their minds in favour of their new theory. But Vacarius wonders how they can quibble about sentences which by a slight change lead the argument from what is evidently true to what is evidently wrong. The subtle change about which Vacarius complains is the addition of the pronoun *ille* which does not occur in the Augustinian quotation (15). Yet he does not deny the weight of their grammatical argument. In fact, he goes so far as to grant that if he who was assumed had been a man *before* he was assumed, he would have been a person. But although he would have been a person, one would not say that that person was truly assumed, for a person can absorb both a person and a nature, since the word "person" is a legal term: *Plus dico si, antequam assumeretur, homo fuisset is qui assumptus est, quamvis persona esset, non tamen ipsa persona vere assumpta diceretur quoniam persona, sicut eleganter et catholice traditum est, personam et naturam consumere potest, quoniam persona nomen iuris est* (16).

The "elegant and Catholic" statement of tradition to which our author refers dates back to Faustus of Riez.[35] The author of the so-called *Apologia de Verbo Incarnato* professes a similar theory and declares: *Unde scriptum est: Natura naturam non consumit sed persona personam quia nomen iuris est.*[36] But since the *Apologia* was written at a later date, Vacarius must have used a different source. He now confirms the theory with the following argument: The soul is a person after its separation from the body. However, on the day of resurrection the entire human nature is restored to the soul. And since from that moment the entire man again constitutes the person, the right and prerogative of being a person is taken away from the soul and absorbed (16).

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[35] *De Spiritu sancto* II, 4; CSEL 21, 139.

[36] *Apologia de Verbo Incarnato,* 28; ed. Haring, *Franciscan Studies* 16 (1956) 121.

Vacarius claims that even in material things we often notice that smaller objects are, as it were, absorbed by larger ones without the loss of their identity. If, for example, we insert a crystal in a chandelier or sew some purple on a vestment, both the crystal and the piece of purple lose "the right of their substantial distinction" but their natures remain intact. Guided by such examples, Vacarius reaches the conclusion: "I should call the person of the Assumed Man absorbed precisely at the moment when He was assumed, provided He had been a person prior to that moment" (17).

In the Incarnation, Vacarius continues, the Word assumed not a person but the man who was crucified and who suffered for us in such a way that God did not just suffer *with* him or *in* him, but God and man suffered together (17). To prove this point, Vacarius quotes long passages from Claudianus (18-19). Not without a note of sarcasm, he adds: *Intelligitis adhuc et vos quam probabilis sit nova magistrorum doctrina quae hominis naturam et eius nominis suis traditionibus in Christo pervertit* (21).

The reference to the nature of the word "man" is made to lead over to a question of speculative grammar. The controversial sentence reads: *Homo ille qui pro nobis interpellat est homo.* We learn from Vacarius that, in the predicate of this sentence, the word *homo* designates such a *human nature* as had never existed before the Incarnation. In the subject of the same sentence, however, the word *homo* should not be thought to refer to a human nature but to a *person.* So the meaning of the sentence quoted above is: *Persona illa hominem seu humanam naturam assumpsit i.e. animam rationalem et humanam carnem* (21). As a consequence, the term *homo ille* stands not for a human but for the divine substance. Vacarius is convinced that both Augustine and Claudianus use the word *homo* in this sense. Even the meaning of the pronoun *ille* varies and does not necessarily imply the idea of person. It is used by Claudianus in such a manner that it designates a human nature when he writes: *Ille ergo Pontifex compatitur nobis.* The same author, we are told, means the divine nature when he adds: *Ille vero qui interpellanti annuit* (22).

Vacarius agrees with a remark made by Claudianus to the effect that this sort of speculation is full of danger. Yet he continues his search for the truth. God, he writes, is only of a single nature, the divine nature. And so is the word "God". Man is also of only one nature, human nature. And so is the word "man" always, *i. e.*, in the subject and in the predicate. However, such words as "Christ", "Lord of glory", "Giant of a dual nature" or similar expressions rather express two substances. Hence we should be careful to speak of the union of substances or natures in such a way that the very thought of fusion or change of one into the other is avoided. Vacarius furnishes some examples to illustrate this point (23).

One may be inclined to suspect that Vacarius contradicts himself when he affirms that the word "man" *always* designates human nature, no matter whether the word is found in the subject or in the predicate of the sentence. Among his illustrations of the proper form of speech we meet the sentence: *Neque homo vel homo ille est divina substantia* (23), and it is obvious that in this sentence the words *homo* and *homo ille* do not represent a divine person, despite the fact that they are the subject of the sentence. At the same time it cannot be denied that he previously interpreted *homo ille* in the subject of the sentence as referring to the divine person. Hence it appears that the context determines the meaning, though Vacarius does not offer this clarification.

He tells us that, in speaking of Christ, it is correct to say: *Homo, qui est humana substantia, est Deus.* In such and similar sentences, Vacarius holds, the words *Deus* and *homo* are used to express the union of substances in one single person. And in view of this union it was correct to say: "God was seen on earth" or "God was crucified" (24). Yet strictly speaking, such forms of speech are not to be accepted. To quote Vacarius' own words: *Sed secundum rerum naturam et nominum proprietatem non sunt recipienda huiusmodi verba* (25).

That is, as Vacarius notes, the reason why St. Jerome wrote: *The Word is God, not the assumed flesh.*[37] For the very same reason Claudianus writes: *Non ergo passus est Deus.* However, since Christ is one single person consisting of dual substance, both He and the words designating Him are words of two substances or words designating two substances. Despite this explanation, Vacarius warns us to avoid saying: "Christ is two substances, namely a divine and a human substance" — *Christus est duae substantiae, divina scilicet et humana* — for such a statement would tend to obscure the *distinction* of the two substances in Christ. We shall see later that Vacarius has no objection to the statement: Christ is *of*, or consists of, two substances. The reason why we should not say: "Christ is two substances" is stated by Vacarius as follows: *Homo enim non per originem substantiae sed per assumptionem personae factus est Christus* (25). In other words, by the assumption of his person, a man became Christ. Followers of this theory found nothing wrong in using the phrase *assumptio personae.* They also spoke of a *persona humana* in Christ.

Vacarius then proposes another possible objection to his view: *Sed dices quod eadem ratione duarum substantiarum sit Deus quia per assumptionem homo factus est Deus sicut et Christus* (26). The objection presupposes an earlier remark according to which the word *Deus*, unlike the word *Christus*, does not signify two substances. God, he had previously written, is only of a single nature, the divine nature. And so is the word "God". The sentence *Homo factus est Deus* would seem to contradict this, for it means that God is of two substances. In his reply, Vacarius admits that the word *Deus* is not a word signifying two substances, as it is what he calls a *nomen divinae naturae.* The word *Christus*, on the other hand, is a *nomen personae*, a word signifying a person, but it comprises both God and man. Hence the personality (*personalis discretio*) expressed in the word "Christ" includes either substance in an equal manner, though that personality is God's by nature, man's *per assumptionem* (26).

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[37] Pseudo-Jerome, *Sermo de Assumptione*, 12; PL 30, 139B. *Summa sent.* I, 15; PL 176, 72A. Lombard, *Sent.* III, 7, 2; ed. Quaracchi (1916) 586. *Apologia*, 37; ed. Haring, p. 125.

Vacarius offers an example which was familiar to all: *Sicut ex anima et carne per compositionem unus est homo ita ex duplici substantia per unionem Dei et hominis unus est Christus* (26). Then he returns to grammar again and explains: just as the entire human being is called "just" or "unjust" in view of the soul alone, and "white" or "black" in view of the other part, so is the entire Christ the eternal and immortal God in view of the divinity alone, and the same Christ man in time in view of the part in which He could be, and actually was, crucified and in which He died (26).

As a consequence, Christ is by nature an *aliquid*, for He is God. And through the Incarnation (*per assumptionem*) the very same Christ is an *aliquid* because He is man. Those who deny the truth of this statement, so we learn from Vacarius, do not consider that there are various ways of, and reasons for, saying that a thing is (*esse*) or is the same or is something (*aliquid*). The copula *est* applies first of all to the divine essence, as it remains always and unchangeably the same. The essence of the soul also remains the same but it is changeable by nature. Other things remain the same, not in their essence but in their species. Thus the total and entire essence of a river and likewise the essence of man changes daily down to its smallest components, as the philosophers tell us. Parts go and others take their place to such an extent that in the same man there is no part which does not change (27).

Hence it is with regard to the same species, not the same essence, that we speak of "the same man", "the same river" or "the same thing". A ship in which all the planks have in the course of time been changed is still the same because of the same species. According to this a man remains the same and a river remains the same: while the essence changes, the nature of the substance remains the same: *Secundum hoc idem manet homo et idem flumen, eius essentia mutata, eadem manente substantiae natura* (28). Vacarius notes a difference in so far as even the nature of a ship may change while the ship remains the same because of the same species and properties (*propter ipsius eandem speciem et proprietatem*). The illustration furnished by Vacarius clarifies the meaning of this statement. If the ship was first made of fir and the fir gradually replaced by cypress wood, the "body" would be different, since it consisted first of fir and then of cypress wood, but it would remain the very same ship in different substances and natures. The ship's properties would also be the same. And in selling the ship consisting of cypress wood, the owner could say that he bought it when it was made of fir. Hence it remained the same thing, not by the nature of its body, but by the properties of its species (28).

There is no denying that the philosophical terminology as reflected in our author's use of essence, nature and substance differs from what it might be expected to signify. The essence of man, he tells us, is in a state of flux, is in constant change while the "nature of the substance" remains the same. The example of the ship serves to show that the *proprietas* of a thing can remain the same while the nature of the substance undergoes a gradual and complete change. Applied to Christ, the concept of *proprietas* plays an important role. Since He is "a Giant of a dual substance", each substance has its own *proprietates.* But the *personalis proprietas* of those two substances is one and the same (29).

This distinction is made to prepare the ground for the following statement: *Unde proprietate substantiae aliud Deus et aliud homo: proprietate vero personae idem Deus quod homo quia idem Christus Deus et homo* (29). The crucial point of this argument must be seen in the phrase: *idem Deus quod homo*, for the relative pronoun *quod* would ordinarily convey the idea that a thing, not a person is implied. The phrase could therefore be interpreted to mean that in Christ God and Man are the same substance. Vacarius would not agree with such a conclusion but the relative pronoun *quod* serves as a link with the subsequent reasoning: Just as Christ is truly and properly speaking an *aliquid* (substance) because He is God by nature, so He is truly and strictly speaking an *aliquid* because He is Man, not by nature but by a *personalis proprietas.* Likewise God is Man and Man is God truly and properly speaking, not by a fusion or change of substances but by a personal union (*in personam eandem unione*) which is the reason why we can truly and properly say *Deus est idem quod homo* (29).

This union, as Vacarius tells us, is so close that it is harder to put it in words than to understand it, and no few-fangled ideas should be spread to undermine the truth by saying that God is not an *aliquid* because of His being Man, unless He is Man *substantiae proprietate* (30). Vacarius' aim is to show that apart from being God, Christ is a perfect man. To strengthen his explanation he quotes Boethius (31) and repeats the theory that this perfect man is not called a person because his personality was absorbed by a worthier, that is divine person (*personatus dignior*) to whom it was united (32).

After dealing with Christ's dual substance Vacarius turns to His dual nature. He first offers some definitions of nature found in Boethius and then draws the following conclusion: *Substantia igitur non omnino idem est in Christo quod natura, sicut vestri sentiunt, sed potius materia est naturae seu formae subiecta* (33). In other words, he accuses his opponents of identifying substance and nature in Christ. He maintains that by substance we mean matter as the substrate of nature or form. Strange as this view may seem, it was also expressed at about the same time, *viz.*, in the middle of the twelfth century, in a tract on the Trinity written by a scholar of the school of Chartres. He writes: *Substantia, ut a substando dicitur, proprie est materia*[38]. In a commentary on Boethius' *De Trinitate*, wrongly attributed to the Venerable Bede and composed shortly after the tract just mentioned, we read: *Ubi (substantia) dicitur a substando, sic a Graecis dicitur hypostasis, a nobis vero substantia proprie. Et in hac acceptione convenit materiae, quae habet substare.*[39]

Perhaps even more surprising is the fact that Vacarius considers this to be the teaching of Boethius. From a text found in Boethius' *De Trinitate* he concludes: *Ex quibus verbis datur intelligi quod materia, quae suscipit accidentia, sit substantia ipsi formae, quam catholici "naturam" vocant, subiecta* (34). As a consequence, man *consists of* two substances each of which is the substrate of a nature. It is therefore wrong to hold that body and soul are one nature. Vacarius accuses his opponents precisely of this error: *Vos ergo quare animam et corpus unam naturam esse dicitis in Christo, cum sint duae substantiae duabus naturis subiectae?*

One might expect Vacarius to conclude that Christ consists of three rather than two substances. But after quoting another Boethian text he declares that Christ is one reality: *unum est.* The conclusion is based on the principle mentioned by Boethius: *Esse atque unum convertitur.* A denial of the oneness of Christ would be tantamount to a denial of His existence: *Sed secundum vos non unum est. Ergo omnino non est* (34).

Again Vacarius reminds his opponents of their inexperience. He cannot see why they grant Christ the nature of His soul and the nature of His flesh but deny Him a human nature. In fact, he suspects that they favour the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches (35). By nature, we learn from Vacarius, we mean here a nature which acts as a form upon the substance under it such as *humanitas quae hominem facit.* If, as Nestorius and Eutyches reasoned, such a substance had been in Christ, His *humanitas* or human nature would have made His human substance a person: *Ideoque cum Eutyche talem in Christo fuisse naturam negatis* (36). But since the opponents grant Christ at least the components of human nature, they should, in Vacarius' opinion, be treated with more kindness than Eutyches, who completely denied Christ a human nature, *viz.*, the form of a true human substance (36).

We learn from Vacarius that, according to Catholic belief, there are two forms in Christ: the form of the divine substance or His *divinitas* and the form of the human substance or His *humanitas.* This second form makes Him man but not a person, for the word "person" has been reserved for what is of a higher dignity. The reason why a horse or an ox is not a person despite their individuality and why every man or angel is a person must be seen in the absence and presence of the intellect. To confirm this, Vacarius again cites Boethius (37).

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[38] *Tractatus de Trinitate*; ed. Haring, *Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1956) 129.

[39] PL 95, 410A.

Two things are required in order that a substance may be called a person, *viz.*, rational nature and what Vacarius calls *substantialis discretio.* While the soul is in the body, it does not have this *substantialis discretio* and as a result is not a person.[40] In the same manner, the "substance of the Assumed Man" could not maintain its *discretio personalis,* since it had to yield to what was of a higher dignity. Therefore it cannot be called a person. Vacarius returns again to grammar and declares: When I say "That Man is God, is Christ, is a person", I truly predicate the union or the assumption of substances. When I say "The substance of that Man is not God, is not Christ", I remove the fusion and oneness of the substances, for that Man has not become God by the nature of His substance but by Incarnation (*assumptio*). For that reason we say that the Man himself, not His substance, is God. St. Augustine calls this nature a form where he says: *Forma Dei accepit formam hominis.*[41] Boethius[42] calls this form *humanitas* (38).

With reference to this *humanitas* in Christ, Vacarius writes: *Vestri autem soli magistri contra omnes ita in anima et corpore eam constituunt, ut non sit ex eis unum aliquid quod sit hominis substantia vel natura* (39). He admits that he is repetitious, but his repetitions serve to clarify the point. So Vacarius asks: of what do we speak when we say "Christ ate, Christ slept" and so on? They reply, he tells us, that we say this of the Person and not of a substance. But eating and sleeping are accidents supported not by the (created) form but, as Boethius points out, by matter. Hence it is all the more obvious that, being a form (i.e. the divinity) without matter, the Person of Christ cannot be the substratum of accidents. Vacarius then explains: When I say that the accidents mentioned above (eating, sleeping, etc.) are predicated of Christ, I do not mean His Person but the matter which serves as substratum of His *humanitas.* St. Augustine, we are told by Vacarius, did the same in a passage already quoted: *Gloriam suam Deus dicit etiam ille etc.* The pronoun *ille* refers to the assumed Man and His nature, not to the Person of the Word. When I say that that ox or that horse is eating, the phrase "that ox" or "that horse" designates a nature or a substance serving as a substratum of accidents. The same is true when I speak of "that Man Christ" (*homo ille Christus*): the expression designates a human substance (39).

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[40] Cf. Lombard, *Sent.* III, 5, 3; p. 572: "Anima non est persona quando alii rei est unita personaliter, sed quando est per se. Absoluta enim a corpore persona est sicut angelus".

[41] Augustine, *De Trinitate* I, 7, 14; PL 42, 829: "Forma Dei accepit formam servi". Cf. John of Cornwall, *Eulogium,* 11; ed. Haring, p. 279.

[42] *De Trinitate,* 2; ed. R. Peiper, p. 153.

With an undertone of sarcasm, Vacarius continues: If I were to follow your theory, I should not dare say that Christ's human substance was able to feel or to think or to live or to die. For I if say that it could speak or exist or drink they call me a quibbler. To be candid, they use all sorts of tricks to get away and hide, when they are confronted with both the reasons and authorities given and quoted above. It is to Vacarius "more than manifest" that his arguments and authorities prove that Christ is a perfect Man existing not only *in anima et carne* but also *ex anima rationali et humana carne* (40). This means that His human nature is a single form, properly called *humanitas*, and not just a body and a soul placed side by side (40).

It would be a useful task to compare this tract with the final chapter in Vicarius' work against Speroni, written some 25-30 years later.[43] Such a comparison would reveal that his views did not undergo a substantial change in those years.

Our *Tractatus* is contained in a manuscript preserved in the University Library of Cambridge. The shelf number is Ii. 3. 9. It begins in the fourth line of the second column on fol. 146v. The work preceding it deals with the Trinity, written by Walter of Mortagne (PL 109, 575-590). A later addition reads: *Magistri Vagarii tractatus de assumpto homine incipit.* In the upper right hand corner of each recto folio we find the entry *De Assumpto Homine* written by a later hand above the second column, and the entry *Vagarius De Assumpto Homine* written on the margin by another scribe.

The tract is written in a neat early Gothic hand in two columns with thirty-three lines to a column.[44] It ends in the middle of line twenty on fol. 151vb and in the space left by the scribe we find the entry: *Hic incipit quaedam summa de matrimonio magistri Vacarii.* We have already noted that, in the introduction to this *Summa*, Vacarius refers to our tract when he writes: *Sicut et mihi accidit in eo opusculo quod* De Homine Assumpto *scripsi.* Although Vacarius uses the word *opusculum* rather than *tractatus*, it seemed justifiable to honour the title given not by the author, but by a later scribe or librarian: *Tractatus de Assumpto Homine.*

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[43] Da Milano, pp. 572-583.

[44] Maitland says in *The Law Quart. Rev.* 13 (1897) 134: "The writing is good and I do not think that the scribe can be charged with many mistakes." On the same page, Maitland describes Vacarius' aim in the following manner: "I should suppose that he is attacking that doctrine of the Incarnation which is known as Nihilianism, and that his vigorous words are aimed either at the great Peter Lombard himself or at some disciples of his who outran their master along a dangerous road".

MAGISTRI[1] VACARII TRACTATUS DE ASSUMPTO HOMINE INCIPIT:

1 Suo B. suus V(acarius) salutem. Post collationem de homine assumpto inter nos habitam saepe cum plerisque aliis vestigia opinionis vestrae sectantibus de re eadem tractatum habui, qui etiam rationem ipsius opinionis mihi exposuerunt praecipuam. Summa vero eiusdem opinionis ea est ut non sit aliquis homo qui pro nobis interpellet[2] quem susceperit Deus-Verbum: sed animam et corpus tantum assumpsit.

2 Eius autem urgentissimam rationem talem reddunt quoniam[3] personam a Verbo assumptam esse necesse est ut dicamus, si confesserimus[4] eum assumptum esse qui ex anima et carne subsistit ut pro nobis interpellare possit. Nam cum dicimus Dei sapientiam seu Verbum suscepisse humanam naturam vel hominem, nihil nisi rationalem animam et humanam carnem absque earum in unam substantiam compage significamus assumptas. Haec est doctrina celebris a quibusdam modernis inventa magistris. Haec est via in scholis maxime frequentata et trita hodie[5].

3 Porro huiusmodi disciplina cum nullis auctoritatibus roborari possit, licet aliquibus paucis vix aliquo modo colorari queat,[6] regulas tamen suas habet et traditiones quibus maiorum auctoritates eludere possit, ut suum defendat errorem. Nam si qua obiciatur auctoritas, promptam habent responsionem <147ra> secundum suas regulas ut, si auctoritas est, expositione indigeat et interpretatione, cum econtrario lege cautum sit nullam esse interpretationem quae tantum valeat ut praeiudicare possit manifesto sensui. Item ut tantum effugere possint ex levi occasione nugari dicunt quemlibet urgentem eos. Naturamque humanam in Christo ita disponunt ut, dum totam eam Christo tribuere videantur animam rationalem et humanam ei carnem concedendo, totam ei auferant negando substantiam ipsius hominis ex eis consistere.

4 Unde quaerenti mihi: Cum substantia fuerit infans ille quem magi adoraverunt, quae substantia fuerit, responderunt quidam quod divina fuerit substantia et non humana.[7] Haec et alia his similia induxerunt me et impulerunt ad scribendum. Et quamvis ipsa rei sublimitas et operis difficultas animum et vires mihi adimerent scribendi, eius tamen invocato nomine qui desperata etiam consuevit petentibus donare et ea parvulis pulsantibus aperire, quae sapientibus et prudentibus celantur, eius, inquam, invocato nomine et oculis ad caelum erectis opus meas excedens[8] vires eius donatione implevi.

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[1] Ms. Cambridge, University Lib. Ii. 3. 9, fol. 146vb.

[2] interpellet *corr. ex* interpellat. Both Maitland and Da Milano read interpelletur.

[3] quam *Milano.*

[4] concesserimus *Milano.*

[5] Cf. John of Cornwall, *Eulogium*; ed. Haring, p. 258: Quoniam itaque infiniti scholares hoc calice debriati et in furorem versi... See also Everard, *Ep. ad Urbanum papam III*; ed. Haring, p. 167: Nam perdere nolunt senes quod juvenes didicere.

[6] querat *Milano.*

[7] Cf. *Liber contra multiplices et varios errores*, 32; ed. Da Milano, p. 576: Asserunt ergo Christum unam solam substantiam sive naturam vel formam fuisse, scilicet divinam, non humanam.

5 Quod discretioni vestrae dilectionis eo studio inspiciendum discutiendumque commisi quo scriptum est ut veritatis amore singula diligenter examinetis et, si quid imprudenter ibi insertum fuerit, industria vestrae prudentiae antequam ad alium perveniat corrigatur. Evidentibus autem tam rationibus quam auctoritatibus pro ingenii mei exiguitate studui demonstrare quae potius sententia veritate nitatur <147^{rb}> de homine assumpto: utrum, ut animae et corporis assumptio non composuerit unam hominis substantiam in Christo, an talis omnino utriusque fuerit coniunctio ut ex eis unus subsistens fuerit homo substantiae humanae perfectae sicut quibuslibet[9] aliis homo.[10]

6 De[11] assumpto homine quod substantia sit ex anima et carne subsistens tam animalis quam hominis naturae proprietatibus subiecta, non autem divina, et quod homo cum sit persona, ipse tamen assumptus dicitur et non ipsa persona; et quod "Christus" et "Dominus gloriae" et "gigas geminae substantiae" duarum sint substantiarum nomina, et non "Deus", et ideo ex duplici substantia Christus esse una persona dicitur, et non Deus, non homo ita dicitur; et quod Deus vere et proprie inde est aliquid quia est homo.

7 Crebris itaque mutationibus et motibus[12] naturaliter ente subiecta substantia qualibet alia, sola divina simplicissima suae naturae puritate ita immobilis et invariabilis semper existit, ut nullum recipiat motum, nulli subiaceat mutationi, nulli prorsus possit subici accidenti nulloque affici. Sicut ergo Christi substantia in divinitate perfecta in hominis assumptione semper immobilis et immutabilis mansit ita Christi eiusdem substantia in humanitate perfecta accidentibus humanae naturae propriae subiecta fuit ut qualitates, actiones, passiones tam humanae naturae propriae quam animalis naturae cognatae in ea fierent eisque afficeretur et eas exerceret.[13]

8 Igitur et provectus aetatum Christi infantiae et aliarum videlicet ipsi substantiae eius inerant tamquam in proprio subiecto. Inerant et actiones scilicet vagiendi, flendi, ridendi, loquendi quae similiter propriae sunt humanae naturae <147va>. Nam actiones sugendi lac, edendi et bibendi et similium magis ex natura animalis procedunt sicut colores et lineamenta et alia quaedam corporis naturam numquam deserunt. Quae omnia in Christo fuisse et apparuisse quis negabit? Et cum divina substantia huiusmodi varietates

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[8] extendens *Milano*.

[9] quilibet *Milano*.

[10] *read* sicut quilibet alius homo.

[11] The entire paragraph is a rubric summarizing the tract.

[12] End of Milano's transcription.

[13] Cf. *Liber*, 32; ed. Da Milano, p. 576.

nec in homine neque extra hominem participare vel habere possit, qua ratione potest negari aliam fuisse in Christo substantiam quae sufficeret ad suscipiendas praefatas proprietates?

9 Ergo perfectam habuit hominis et animalis naturam, ut et homo fuerit et animal: homo verus et perfectus qui poterat loqui, flere et ridere, et animal potens edere, bibere, dormire, vigilare. Haec autem non solum huiusmodi ratio disserendi videtur exigere sed etiam maiorum auctoritates evidenter docere quod etiam in canone quotidiano fidei nostrae exprimitur apertissime his verbis: *Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.*[14]

10 Vos autem non fuisse talem in Christo animae et corporis assumptionem asseritis, ut aliquis ex eis subsisteret homo quem Deus-Verbum susceperit qui pro nobis interpellare possit. Cum itaque secundum vos nulla in Christo fuerit substantia, quae non sit vel Deus vel anima vel caro, cui earum animalis et hominis proprietates attribuetis? Nam si de Christo qui coloratus fuerit quaesiero, quae substantia in eo fuerit colori eius subiecta, promptissime respondebitis quod non Deus, non anima, sed corpus ipsius. Si autem de motu iustitiae et pietatis interrogavero, soli animae Christi eum incunctanter assignabitis.[15]

11 In his ergo proprietatibus, quae ex compositione corporis et animae procedunt, aptandis subsistetis cum natura <147vb> corporis vel animae non sufficiat, natura vero Verbi non possit eas proprietates per se admittere neque cum alia natura participare. Nulla enim substantia quinque sensus corporeos habere et exercere potest nisi sit animata et sensibilis neque et ore ceterisque instrumentis corporeis formando verba rationabiliter potest loqui nisi rationalis sit. Erubescat ergo vestra philosophia has proprietates et ceteras absque suo subiecto i.e. substantia animata sensibili tribuere Christo nisi talem ei concedat substantiam.

12 Item secundum vos humana natura in Christo quidem nullius substantiae fuit natura. Unde notandum est quam artificioso ingenio vestra philosophia rerum naturam in Christo claudicare faciat, ut duae quidem naturae, corporis scilicet et animae, cum suis accidentibus proprias substantias quas alibi habere solent in Christo subiectas habeant, humana vero natura absque solita compage suae substantiae accidentia sua, nescio quomodo, portat. Quod si dicerem quod persona Christi colorem habuerit nec tamen aliqua substantia in Christo sufficiens eius subiectum fuerit, nonne ad risum moveremini?

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[14] Symbolum 'Quicumque'. *Liber*, 32; p. 578: "Athanasius cum dixisset: Dei Filius Deus est et homo, addidit postea: Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo... Oculis itaque patet quod cum proprietates illae, scilicet comedendi, bibendi, essent in Christo quod animalis natura esset in eo, ut esset animal."

[15] *Liber*, 32; p. 576: "Et cum Christi essent operationes tam divinae naturae quam humanae si quaeratur quid eas exercebat, respondebunt quod Christus ipse i.e. persona Christi tam divinas quam humanas operationes perficiebat".

13 Sicut igitur aliqua substantia in Christo fuit colori subiecta, quae fuit corpus, ita aliqua substantia ibidem fuit praedictis accidentibus subiecta, quae nihil minus habuit quam (ut a catholicis traditum est) quilibet alius homo. Quare sicut supra diximus *perfectus* fuit *homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens*. His rationibus et auctoritatibus consonant Augustini verba in tractatu de ii Psalmo, versu *Postula a me: Hoc iam temporaliter secundum susceptum hominem qui sacrificium sese obtulit pro omnibus sacrificiis qui etiam interpellat pro nobis.*[16] Item in tractatu de iii Psalmo, versu *Tu autem Domine: Gloriam suam Deum dicit etiam ille quem sic suscepit Deus*[17] *Verbum ut simul cum* <148> *illo*[18] *Deus fieret.*[19] Item in tractatu de iv psalmo,[20] versu primo: *In ipsius autem dominici hominis quem suscepit Dei sapientia* etc.

14 Nota: *susceptum* dicit *hominem qui interpellat pro nobis.* Qui etiam dicit *Deum* esse *gloriam suam.* Item quis eum hominem sus(ce)perit dicit, scilicet *Deus-Verbum.* Et ad quid eum susceperit: *ut Deus fieret simul cum illo* i.e. cum Verbo. Divina itaque substantia, quae ab aeterno Deus est, quam ergo non suscepit Deus, ipsa quidem non est iste homo quem *dominicum*[21] vocat Augustinus sed animata substantia et sensibilis est homo *qui interpellat pro nobis* et qui *Deum gloriam suam dicit.* Quae substantia veras humanas habuit infirmitates, ut in infantia quidem Christi omnino ad operationes infirma esset, aptior vero secundum provectum aetatum postea sit facta et, sicut in aliis hominibus contingit, robustior tam ad agendum quam ad patiendum. Divina enim[22] substantia immutabilis semper manet.

15 Adversus hoc autem praedictam nobis obicietis rationem, scilicet quod persona sit assumpta, si assumptus sit homo ille *qui pro nobis interpellat*, cum ipse persona sit. Haec est enim validissima ratio. Hoc est, ut dicunt vestri, firmissimum argumentum et necessitas declinandi a nostra sententia ut ad vestram decurrant. Miror quod philosophia vestra huiusmodi complexionum cavillationes, quae per brevissimas mutationes ab evidenter veris ad evidenter falsa perducunt, et vitia ignorat. Eadem enim ratione possumus dicere Deum assumptum esse, quoniam secundum Augustinum homo ille quem Deus-Verbum assumpsit, ut Deus fieret cum illo, Deus est. Dicitis enim vos: si homo ille[23] persona est, qui assumptus est, ergo persona assumpta est.

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[16] *Enarr. in Ps.* II, 8; CCL 38, 5.

[17] Dei *Augustine.*

[18] eo *Augustine.*

[19] *Enarr. in Ps.* III, 4(3); CCL 38, 8.

[20] *Enarr. in Ps.* IV, 2(2); CCL 38, 14.

[21] Cf. *Retract.* I, 19, 8; PL 3, 616. Lombard, *Sent.* III, 7, 3; p. 588.

[22] *suprascriptum.*

[23] *suprascriptum.*

Dico et ego consequenter: si homo ille quem Deus assumpsit secundum Augustinum Deus est, Deus ergo assumptus est <148rb>. Quod ideo falsum est quia magis homo in Deum quam ipse Deus assumptus est.

16 Plus dico si, antequam assumeretur, homo fuisset is qui assumptus est, quamvis persona esset, non tamen ipsa persona vere assumpta diceretur quoniam persona, sicut eleganter et catholice traditum est, personam et naturam consumere potest, quoniam *persona nomen iuris est.*[24] Nam cum et anima cuiuslibet defuncti a corpore separata persona sit, in resurrectione tamen ipsius hominis integra quidem natura animae assumetur. Ius autem et praerogativa personatus ipsius animae peribit et consumetur.

17 In his autem speciebus quae descretionem habent non personalem, eadem regula locum habet, ut minorem maior consumat ut ecce si gemmam candelabro incluseris vel purpuram vestimento intexueris, extinguitur quidem substantialis discretionis ius in gemma et purpura, utriusque natura cum omnibus suis proprietatibus integra manente. Huius itaque viae vestigiis ductus, personam assumpti hominis in ipsa eius assumptione consumptam dicerem, etiamsi[25] antequam assumeretur personam hominis habuisset. Ceterum in ipsa sui assumptione simul et homo et persona coepit esse et Deus cum Verbo assumente non personam ipsam sed hominem, qui pro nobis crucifixus et passus est ita ut non Deus cum ipso vel in ipso passus sit sed[26] compassus, sicut aperte Claudianus docet contra ignotum auctorem.

18 Haec autem sunt verba ignoti auctoris: *Nil sensit* Deus *patientis sensu sed* sensit *compatientis affectu.*[27] Verba autem Claudiani[28] sub rubrica descriptio haec sunt: *Quidnam quaeso illud est: "Non sensit*[29] *patientis sensu sed sensit compatientis affectu"? Quomodo passus est, si non sensit? Numquid si quispiam dicat: Ambulat* <148va> *ille et ille coambulat, nonne coambulantem ambulare significat? Aut si quis aiut: Mortuus est ille et ille commortuus, nonne utrumque mortuum fuisse comprobat?*[30] *Nam qui commoritur, utique moritur. Et qui compatitur, utique patitur. Passa est itaque, si compassa est, divinitas. Ergo fortassis et mortua. Aut si istud cogitatu nefas est: Non ergo passus est Deus nec affectus.*

19 Item infra,[31] eodem titulo: *Audes non fateri eundem gloriae Dominum*

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[24] Cf. *Apologia de Verbo Incarnato*, 28; ed. Haring, p. 121: "Unde scriptum est: Natura naturam non consumit sed persona personam, quia nomen juris est". Faustus of Riez, *De Spir. s.* II, 4; CSEL 21, 139. See also the Council of Frankfort (794), *Epist. episc. Franciae*; MGH *Conc.* II, 1, 150.

[25] etiam *suprascriptum.*

[26] reading uncertain.

[27] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 1; PL 53, 701C or CSEL 11, 26.

[28] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 3 (abbreviated); PL 53, 702D or CSEL 11, 29.

[29] sentit *Ms.*

[30] (comprobat) se confirmat *Claudianus.*

[31] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 7; PL 53, 705A or CSEL 11, 33.

quem fateris hominis filium. Verum tu illo quod dictum est: Numquam Dominum gloriae crucifixissent[32] *in id uti voles ut haud dubie credatur quod ipsa divinitas queat affici si potuit crucifigi.* Item infra: *Gloriae Dominum sic accipi veritas suaderet, ne divinitas crucifixa credatur.* Et infra: *Animadvertis*[33] *poenale illud quod in homine Christo persequentium scelus exercuit, ipsi inviolabili divinitati inflictum fuisse te dicere. Quod si ita est, pati pro hominibus Deus et non assumpto homine potuit. Quia si in homine passibilis, et extra hominem potuit esse passibilis quia quicquid deteriorari potest, et corrumpi profecto potest. Sed corrumpi divinitas non potest nec commutari. Ergo nec pati potest.*

20 *Nunc*[34] *vero superest quoniam Christus homo verus et Deus verus ex duplici substantia una persona et Deus* [et] *homo et homo Deus est; idem gloriae Dominus, et non sit crucifixus pro inviolabili divinitate et sit crucifixus in homine pro unitate personae. Itaque miro et incogitabili modo passus est Dominus et non est passa divinitas.* Item infra:[35] *Tu scilicet* <148^{vb}> *velut stipulante tibi per Apostolum veritate, affici divinitatem dicis sed Apostolus "crucifixum gloriae Dominum" in ea sui parte cogit intelligi quae*[36] *crucifigi potuit.* Item infra[37]: *Sed adicis, quin*[38] *Apostolum*[39] *dixisse pronuntians de Christo iam in caelis posito: "Habemus talem pontificem qui possit compati infirmitatibus nostris."* Et infra: *Igitur, ut quam brevissime responsum referam, Pontifex ille, credo, est qui principaliter apud divinitatem summae Trinitatis humani generis oblata sacrificat, peccata expiat, vota commendat: Ipse est verus sacerdos quia si Filius Dei secundum quod aequalis est Patri non tam preces fundit quam preces*[40] *exaudit, homo potius intelligendus est quem "Pontificem" Apostolus dicens nostris infirmitatibus compati pronuntians de ipso itidem dixit*[41]*: "Christus Jesus qui mortuus est, immo qui resurrexit, qui est in dextera Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis".* Et[42]: *ille vero qui interpellanti annuit ipsa Trinitas non habet utique quem sibi interpellare necessarium foret si pati aut affici nullatenus*[43] *posset. Iamne intelligis adversum potius veritatis testimonium in patrocinium* potius *falsitatis assumi? Quoniam si quid huiusmodi (sicut supra di-*

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[32] crucifixent *Ms.*

[33] animavertis *Ms.*

[34] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 8; PL 53, 705B or CSEL 11, 34.

[35] PL 53, 705C or CSEL 11, 34.

[36] qua *Claudianus.*

[37] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 9; PL 53, 706B or CSEL 11, 35.

[38] reading uncertain. Claudianus: "Sed superadicis et Apostolum dixisse pronuntias de Christo..."

[39] *Heb.* 4:15.

[40] precantes *Claudianus.*

[41] *Rom.* 8:34.

[42] *supple* infra.

[43] ullatenus *Claudianus.*

ximus) in divinis voluminibus invenitur, ad unitatem personae perferendum[44] *est quia sicut anima et corpus ex diversa substantia unus est homo ita Deus et homo ex diversa substantia unus est*[45] *Christus. Ac per hoc cum sit unus ex diversa substantia, ipse se quodammodo petit, ipse se quodammodo exaudit. Innumera sunt quae super hoc dici promptissimum*[46] *sit.*

21 Intelligitis adhuc et vos quam probabilis sit nova magistrorum doctrina quae hominis naturam et eius nominis suis traditionibus in Christo pervertit <149ra>, si dicatur quod homo ille *qui pro nobis interpellat* est homo. In parte quidem praedicati, "homo" nomen est naturae humanae talis quem[47] in nullo alio rerum natura edidit ut (sicut iam diximus) non sit alicuius substantiae natura. In subiecto vero termino "homo" non ad humanam naturam referatur sed ad personam ipsam et sit sensus propositionis iste: Homo ille *qui pro nobis interpellat* est homo, hoc est: persona illa hominem seu humanam naturam assumpsit i.e. animam rationalem et humanam carnem. Igitur secundum haec "homo ille" non humana sed divina substantia est ad quam ibi significandam refertur hoc nomen "homo", cum aperte secundum Augustinum et Claudianum ad hominem referatur assumptum *qui pro nobis interpellat.*

22 Immo etiam hoc pronomen "ille" supra in Claudiano non personam sed naturam demonstrat: humanam quidem cum dicitur: *Ille ergo Pontifex compatitur nobis qui et interpellat pro nobis.*[48] Divinam vero naturam demonstrat cum subditur: *Ille vero qui interpellanti annuit, ipsa Trinitas non habet* etc. Cum igitur, sicut Claudianus[49] ait, innumera sint quae super hoc dici possunt et in tanto pelago disputationis periculosae sint definitiones propter inundantes verborum profanitates et argumentorum latentes scopulos, inquirendo potius procedamus.

23 Itaque sicut Deus unius tantum est naturae, hoc est divinae, et nomen eius, ita et homo unius tantum est naturae, i.e. humanae, et nomen eius semper i.e. tam in subiecto quam in praedicato. *Christus* vero et *Dominus gloriae* et *gigas geminae substantiae* et si quid aliud est simile magis duarum sunt substantiarum. Ea etiam in his maxime adhibenda est cautela quod ita <149rb> substantiarum vel naturarum unio admittatur, ut conversio unius in alteram omnino fugiatur et earum unitas atque confusio, ut neque divina substantia sit vel facta sit humana neque humana sit vel facta sit divina: item neque homo vel homo ille sit divina substantia nec econverso divina substantia sit homo vel homo ille: similiter neque Deus sit humana substantia neque humana substantia sit Deus.

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[44] referendum *Claudianus.*

[45] *suprascriptum.*

[46] promtiissimum *Ms.*

[47] *read* qualem.

[48] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 9; PL 53, 706C or CSEL 11, 35.

[49] PL 53, 706D.

24 In nominibus quoque proprietatum eadem ratio scilicet conversionis vel confusionis substantiae suadet, ut neque invisibile vel immortale sit factum visibile vel mortale vel econverso. Item nec Deus visibilis nec homo invisibilis est factus. Quod autem Deus, qui est divina substantia, sit homo; vel homo, qui est humana substantia, sit Deus, recte dicitur. Haec nomina "Deus" et "homo" in sua ad invicem praedicatione non confusionem substantiarum vel proprietatem earum exprimunt vel innuunt sed magis earum in unam personam unionem significant. Quod si forte inveniatur quod *Deus in terra visus est*[50] vel crucifixus est vel aliud simile, sciendum est quod ad praerogativam unionis praedictae notandam talia recte dicuntur. Quale et illud est: *Verbum caro factum est.*[51]

25 Sed secundum rerum naturam et nominum proprietatem non sunt recipienda huiusmodi verba. Unde Hieronymus: *Verbum est Deus, non caro assumpta.*[52] Item Claudianus[53] supra: *Si istud cogitatu nefas est. Non ergo passus est Deus. Unius tantum*[54] (sicut praediximus) *naturae Deus est* i.e. divinae. Non est Deus visibilis nam *Deum nemo vidit umquam.*[55] Christus autem cum sit *ex duplici substantia una persona*[56] vere tam <149va> ipse quam eius nomina duarum dicuntur esse substantiarum, scilicet divinae atque humanae. Non tamen expedite dicetur quod Christus sit duae substantiae, divina scilicet et humana, ne unitatem vel confusionem ipsarum substantiarum in Christo quodammodo fateri videamur tali propositione. Homo enim non per originem substantiae sed per assumptionem personae factus est Christus. Hac ergo ratione *ex duplici substantia una persona* est Christus.

26 Sed dices quod eadem ratione duarum substantiarum sit Deus, quia per assumptionem homo factus est Deus sicut et Christus. Sed sciendum est quod proprietas non divinae naturae sed personae Christi diversarum est substantiarum, ut recte dicatur non "Deus", nomen divinae naturae, nomen est[57] duarum substantiarum sed "Christus", personae nomen, tam Dei quam hominis est nomen, cum eadem omnino personalis discretio, cuius nomen est "Christus", sit utriusque pariter substantiae, scilicet Dei et hominis. Sed Dei quidem est illa personalis discretio per naturam; hominis vero est per assumptionem ipsa eadem. Et sicut ex anima et carne per compositionem unus est homo ita *ex duplici substantia* per unionem Dei et hominis unus est Christus. Item sicut totus homo propter solam animam "iustus" vel "iniustus" dicitur, propter aliam vero partem "albus" vel "niger", ita Christus totus pro sola divinitate aeternus Deus est et immortalis, pro *ea* vero *parte sui qua potuit crucifigi*[58] ex tempore fuit homo et mortuus et crucifixus idem ipse.

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[50] *Bar.* 3:38.

[51] *John* 1:13.

[52] Pseudo-Jerome, *Sermo de Assumptione,* 12; PL 30, 139B.

[53] *De Statu animae* I, 3, 3; PL 53, 703A or CSEL 11, 29.

[54] enim (*suprascr.* tantum) *Ms.*

[55] *John* 1:18.

[56] Claudianus, *De Statu animae* I, 3, 8; PL 53, 705B or CSEL 11, 34.

[57] *suprascriptum.*

27 His ergo consequens est ut sicut per naturam inde Christus aliquid est, quia Deus est, ita per assumptionem idem <149^{vb}> ipse inde est aliquid, quia est homo. Hii autem qui haec negant esse vera, non considerant quod variis modis et rationibus dicitur res esse vel eadem esse vel esse aliquid. Et primo quidem divina essentia aeterna et eadem omnino semper est et immutabilis. Unde dictum est: *Ego sum qui sum.*[59] Essentia quoque animae et aliorum similium eadem manet quidem sed ex tempore et natura mutabilis. Sunt autem res aliae quae non secundum ipsam sui essentiam sed magis propter eandem speciem eaedem esse dicuntur ut flumen, homo et similia. Non tantum etenim fluminis sed etiam hominis essentia tota et integra in minimis partibus secundum philosophos mutatur quotidie quidem prioribus decedentibus partibus et aliis extrinsecus in locum earum accedentibus ita ut nulla sit in eo homine pars quae non mutetur.

28 Ergo non propter eandem essentiam sed propter eandem speciem "idem homo" et "idem flumen" esse dicitur et "eadem res" et "idem". Nam et navis quandoque omnibus eius[60] tabulis mutatis eadem est propter eandem speciem. Secundum hoc idem manet homo et idem flumen, eius essentiâ mutatâ, eâdem tamen manente substantiae naturâ. In navi autem plus est ut, etiam natura eius mutata, sit navis eadem propter ipsius eandem speciem et proprietatem: veluti sicut prius compacta esset navis ex omnibus tabulis abietinis, postea per partes tota refecta sit ex omnibus tabulis cupresseis, ergo aliud et aliud corpus: prius abietinum, sequens cupresseum, sed omnino eadem navis in diversis substantiis et naturis, <150> eadem navis proprietas, ergo eadem res quam dominus eius ab alio vendicando cupressea dicit se eandem emisse cum esset abietina. Eadem ergo res est non corporis naturâ sed speciei proprietate.

29 Cum autem praedictis rationibus et modis res eaedem dicantur, novo et mirabili modo Deus homo factus est et homo Deus i.e. per assumptionem Deo Verbo hominem[61] assumente in eandem personam, quae persona Christus est, Dominus gloriae, *gigas geminae substantiae.*[62] Substantiarum ergo proprietates plures sunt et diversae. Earum vero substantiarum personalis proprietas una est et eadem. Unde proprietate substantiae aliud Deus et aliud homo:

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[58] Claudianus, *De Statu animae* I, 3, 8; PL 53, 705C or CSEL 11, 34.

[59] *Exod.* 3:14.

[60] *suprascriptum.*

[61] homine *Ms.*

[62] Hymn of St. Ambrose: "Intende qui regis Israel"; ed. G. M. Dreves, *Analecta Hymn.*, 50 (Leipzig 1907) 14. Cf. Augustine, *Contra serm. Arian.*, 8, 6; PL 42, 689. See also the letter written to Everard by *Frater B.*; ed. Haring, *Mediaeval Studies* 17 (1955)172.

Et sicut vere et proprie ipse est aliquid, quia est Deus origine et naturâ, ita vere et proprie idem ipse Christus est aliquid, quia est homo non naturâ sed personali proprietate. Et Deus est similiter homo vere et proprie et homo Deus non ipsarum substantiarum conversione vel confusione sed earum in personam eandem unione, propter quam unionem proprie et vere dicitur quod Deus idem sit quod homo quia est homo. Propter confusionem vero vel conversionem substantiarum[63] non est illa substantia quae est homo.

30 Et haec vera sunt etsi forte per consequentiam velit quis negare Deum esse animal quod est ille homo, quia non ita animalis sicut hominis naturae inest proprietas personae. Non enim quia est animal sed quia homo, "persona" dicitur aliquis, cum homines, non animalia, "personae" dicantur. Miro itaque et incogitabili modo Deus factus est homo *ille qui pro nobis interpellat,* ut cum Deo idem sit <150^{rb}> per unionem quae tanta est, ut minus exprimi verbis possit quam intelligi, longe autem minus intellectu capi quam in veritate sit.

Huic ergo tam incomprehensibili veritati praedictae unionis praeiudicare nemo praesumat novis traditionibus vel exquisitis argumentorum subtilitatibus quasi eas praefata veritas effugere non valeat asserendo quod non sit Deus inde aliquid, quia est homo, nisi substantiae proprietate sit homo; et quod homo ille, qui pro nobis crucifixus est, non per assumptionem sed per propriam naturam Deus est, cum negari non possit unam quidem esse in Christo substantiam divinam quae invisibilis et aeternae naturae omniumque creatrix est quae Deus est: alteram vero quae sicut ex praedictis manifeste apparet integram et perfectam hominis et animalis naturam cum suis habuit proprietatibus, ut in ea quinque sensus corporis et quattuor aetatum processus perfecte fierent, caeterasque proprietates hominis haberet.

31 Nonne itaque ridiculum est profiteri quod divina substantia, quae nullam recipit humanae naturae proprietatem, ipsa quidem simpliciter homo esse dicitur vel homo ille qui pro nobis passus et mortuus est, illa vero substantia quae integram et perfectam habuit naturam humanam non fuerit homo ille? Cum aperte Boethius exprimat quod ille qui homo est, ideo Deus est quoniam a Deo fuit assumptus et quod idem *homo ex natura* est homo, *Deus* autem *ex assumptione naturae:* sicut Deus ex natura Deus est, homo vero est ex assumptione. Verba autem Boethii ex libro *De Duabus naturis*[64] Christi sunt haec: *Item qui homo Deus eo quod a Deo fuerit assumptus et qui* <150va> *Deus homo quoniam homine vestitus sit, cum in una eademque persona aliud sit divinitas quae suscepit, aliud humanitas quam suscepit: idem tamen Deus est atque homo. Nam si hominem intelligas, idem homo atque Deus quoniam homo ex natura, Deus ex assumptione naturae.*[65] *Si vero Deum intelligas, idem Deus*

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[63] The sentence appears to be incomplete.

[64] *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, 7; ed. Peiper, p. 212.

[65] Compare the variant quoted by Peiper.

atque homo quoniam Deus natura est, homo assumptione: fitque in eo gemina natura geminaque substantia.

32 Et cum hae duae substantiae absque omni proprietatis et naturae confusione in eadem persona unitae fuerint, qua ratione dicetur quod divina substantia facta sit humanae naturae vel humana divinae? Ergo nec divina substantia facta est creatura nec humana creatrix: proinde neque Deus creatura factus est propter confusionem proprietatis neque homo creator eadem ratione, etsi Deus unius praerogativa factus sit, per quam unionem cum Deo Verbo eadem dicitur esse persona, non tamen substantia animata sensibilis quae est homo ille recte dicetur persona illa sed neque alia, cum personatui dignioris substantiae i.e. divinae cui unita est cedat, sicut supra de anima dictum est quae separata a corpore integram personalem habens discretionem persona esse dicitur. Quam discretionem infusa corpori non retinet in homine, cui tamquam suo toti accedendo cedit.

33 De *gemina* Christi *substantia,*[66] eadem saepe repetendo ad maiorem evidentiam, hactenus revolvimus. De duplici itaque eius natura plenius <150^{vb}> videamus. Boethius *de duabus Christi naturis* tractans, cum varias naturae definitiones ordine disposuisset, subiunxit quod *tam catholici quam Nestorius secundum ultimam definitionem duas in Christo naturas constituunt.*[67] Cuius definitionis verba sunt haec: *Natura est unamquamque rem informans specifica differentia.*[68] Idemque infra eodem libro scribit: *Natura est cuiuslibet substantiae specificata proprietas.*[69] Substantia igitur non omnino idem est in Christo quod natura, sicut vestri sentiunt, sed potius materia est naturae seu formae subiecta. Unde idem auctor in libro *De Trinitate: Formae,* inquit, *subiectae esse non possunt. Nam quod caeterae formae* et non divina *subiectae accidentibus sunt ut humanitas, non ita accidentia suscipit in eo quod ipsa est sed eo quod materia ei subiecta est. Dum enim materia subiecta humanitati suscipit aliquod*[70] *accidens, ipsa hoc suscipere videtur humanitas.*[71]

34 Ex quibus verbis datur intelligi quod materia, quae suscipit accidentia, sit substantia ipsi formae, quam catholici "naturam" vocant, subiecta.[72] Vos ergo quare animam et corpus unam naturam esse dicitis in Christo, cum sint duae substantiae duabus naturis subiectae? Ex quibus secundum vos nihil confectum est: ac per hoc ipsa natura nihil est. Sicut enim contra Nestorium idem Boethius in libro *De Duabus naturis* argumentatur his verbis: *Omnino ex duabus personis effici nihil umquam potest. Nihil ergo unum secundum*

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[66] Boethius, *Contra Eutychen,* 7; p. 213: "gemina natura geminaque substantia".

[67] *Contra Eutychen,* 1; pp. 190 f.

[68] *Ibidem,* p. 190.

[69] *Contra Eutychen,* 4; p. 197.

[70] quodlibet *Boethius.*

[71] *De Trinitate,* 2; ed. Peiper, p. 153.

[72] subiectam *Ms.*

Nestorium Christus est: ac per hoc nihil omnino.[73] *Esse enim atque*[74] *unum convertitur. Et quodcumque est, unum est* <151ra>. *Etiam ea quae ex pluribus coniunguntur ut acervus, chorus, unum tamen sunt. Sed esse Christum manifeste ac veraciter confitemur: unum igitur esse*[75] *Christum.*[76] Similiter Christi humanam confitemur esse naturam: ergo unum est. Sed secundum vos non unum est. Ergo omnino non est.

35 Agnoscite itaque imperitiae cuiusdam remedio dictum esse animam et corpus naturam esse humanam in Christo. Qua enim ratione dicetis quod natura animae vel carnis Christi et non humana natura eius Christi sit alicuius substantiae specificata proprietas sive forma? Nisi forte si diligentius hanc rem attendatis, quia ad fontem acceditis erroris Nestorii et Eutychis quorum alter i.e. Nestorius ideo duas in Christo esse personas dicebat, quoniam in eo duas agnoscebat esse naturas: Eutyches vero econtra ideo duas in Christo negabat esse naturas, quoniam unam solam Christi credebat esse personam. Uterque autem error ex eodem fonte esse prolabitur, scilicet quasi non possit duplex esse natura quin persona fieret duplex.

36 Hoc errore, si pensius[77] rem intueamini, etiam vestri laborant. Natura enim, ut supra diximus, hic accipitur quae substantiam sibi subiectam informat ut humanitas quae hominem facit: quae ergo secundum praedictum errorem si in Christo fuisset, humanam eius substantiam personam esse fecisset. Ideoque cum Eutyche talem in Christo fuisse naturam negatis. Vos tamen et non ipse talis naturae quandam materiam i.e. animam et corpus in Christo creditis[78] fuisse. Quapropter[79] mitius vobiscum agendum est quia, si verbis huiusmodi Christo naturam non datis, re tamen ipsa non omnino <151rb> adimitis. Errorem itaque omnino fugiamus Eutychis in eo damnatum, quod naturam humanam i.e. formam verae substantiae humanae Christo non concedebat.

37 Cum catholicis autem duas in Christo formas esse non dubitemus: alteram videlicet divinae substantiae[80] quae est ipsa substantia i.e. divinitas, alteram vero humanae substantiae quae informando hominem esse facit, quae est humanitas. Nec tamen inde sequitur quod talis substantia persona sit. Persona enim praerogativae et dignioris cuiusdam proprietatis nomen est. Cur enim aliorum animalium discretio substantialis ut huius vel illius equi vel bovis personalis non est sicut cuiuslibet[81] hominis vel angeli nisi propter rationis praerogativam quae in his praecellit? Unde Boethius in libro *De Duabus naturis Christi: Quare autem de irrationabilibus animalibus Graecus hypostasim non dicat, haec ratio est quoniam nomen hoc melioribus applicatum est ut aliquid quod est excellentius.*[82]

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[73] Either Vacarius or the scribe omitted the sentence: "Quod enim non est unum, nec esse omnino potest".

[74] enim atque *suprascriptum.*

[75] *supple ex Boethio:* dicimus.

[76] *Contra Eutychen,* 4; p. 198.

[77] prensius *Ms.*

[78] crediditis *Ms.*

[79] ea propter *Ms.*

[80] *suprascriptum.*

[81] cuilibet *Ms.*

38 Duo igitur exiguntur ut substantia aliqua "persona" dicatur, scilicet natura rationabilis et substantialis discretio quam sicut anima rationalis infusa corpori non habet et ideo interim non est persona ita et substantia assumpti hominis digniori i.e. divinae cedendo suam discretionem personalem retinere non potuit et propterea "persona" dici non potest. Cum enim dico "ille homo Deus est, Christus est, persona est", substantiae unionem seu assumptionem veraciter praedico. Cum autem dico quod illius hominis substantia non est Deus, non est Christus, substantiarum confusionem <151va> unitatemque removeo. Homo enim ille non per naturam substantiae factus est Deus sed per assumptionem. Ideo ipse homo, non eius substantia, Deus esse dicitur cuius naturam etiam Augustinus formam nominat dicens: *Forma Dei accepit formam hominis,* quam Boethius supra "humanitatem" appellavit.[83]

39 Vestri autem soli magistri contra omnes ita in anima et corpore eam constituunt, ut non sit ex eis unum aliquid quod sit hominis substantia vel natura. Unde si quaesiero, dum dicitur "Christus comedit, bibit, vigilavit, dormivit," de qua re haec dicantur, de persona haec dici ab eis respondetur et non de substantia aliqua, cum Boethius[84] dicat quod nec ipsae formae accidentibus sint subiectae sed, dum materia ipsi formae subiecta suscipit accidens aliquod, ipsa forma hoc videtur suscipere. Multo ergo minus Christi persona in eo, quod ipsa est, aliquod accidens suscipere potest, cum ipsa sit forma i.e. divinitas sine materia. Cum ergo dico "praedicta accidentia de Christo dicuntur", non ad ipsam personam sed ad materiam humanitati eius subiectam referimus verba: ut Augustinus[85] supra dicendo *gloriam suam Deum dicit etiam ille* etc., hoc pronomen "ille" ad susceptum hominem retulit et ad eius naturam, non ad Verbi personam suscipientis ipsum hominem: sicut quando dico "bos ille vel equus ille comedit", bos ille vel equus ille nomen est naturae seu substantiae accidentibus subiectae ita et "homo ille Christus" nomen est substantiae cuiusdam animatae, sensibilis, rationalis, de qua secundum vestros dicere <151^{vb}> forte non audeo quod sentire aliquid potuerit vel ratione uti aut vivere seu mori. Nam si dixero quod loqui potuerit vel esse aut bibere, nugatorem me faciunt quasi etsi substantia sensibilis esse dicatur, non tamen ita ut videre vel audire vel gustare vel alium sensum exercere possit.

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[82] *Contra Eutychen,* 4; p. 196.

[83] *Contra Eutychen,* 7; p. 212. Augustine, *De Trinitate* I, 7, 14; PL 42, 829: "Forma Dei accepit formam servi."

[84] *De Trinitate,* 2; p. 153.

[85] *Enarr. in Ps.* III, 4(3); CCL 38, 8.

40 Nonne igitur ex his constat quod varia sint haec remedia et praestigia quaedam ad fugam tantum et ut latere possint inventa, cum ex praemissis tam rationibus quam auctoritatibus sit plus quam manifestum quod Christus perfectus sit homo, non tantum in anima et carne sed etiam ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens, cuius natura non est corpus et anima quod vestri fingunt quia non est substantia una vel plures sed est secundum catholicos unius substantiae humanae specifica differentia seu specificata proprietas seu forma quaedam, quae proprio nomine humanitas vocatur, ut supra ostensum est.[86]

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[86] The tract is followed by Vacarius' work on matrimony: "Hic incipit quaedam summa de matrimonio magistri Vacarii". This *summa* is written by the same scribe.

Satan the Fowler

B. G. KOONCE

IN the otherwise typical description of spring that introduces Chaucer's dream in the Prologue to *The Legend of Good Women*, several images appear which have received little attention but whose recurrence in medieval literature warrants some discussion. All of these images center upon the figure of the fowler — the "foule cherl" whom the birds in their welcoming song to spring associate with the adversities of winter:

> Forgeten hadde the erthe his pore estat
> Of wynter, that hym naked made and mat,
> And with his swerd of cold so sore greved;
> Now hath th'atempre sonne all that releved,
> That naked was, and clad him new agayn.
> The smale foules, of the sesoun fayn,
> That from the panter and the net ben scaped,
> Upon the foweler, that hem made awhaped
> In wynter, and distroyed hadde hire brood,
> In his dispit hem thoghte yt did hem good
> To synge of hym, and in hir song despise
> The foule cherl that, for his coveytise,
> Had hem betrayed with his sophistrye.
> This was hire song, "The foweler we deffye,
> And al his craft."[1]

The main images in question — the "foweler" with his "panter" and net, his "coveytise" and "sophistrye," and the birds — are closely related details in a pattern that is found not only in earlier medieval literature but also in Scripture, where their meanings as Christian symbols have been conditioned by a long tradition of Scriptural exegesis. Although one must be cautious in applying these traditional exegetical meanings to the similar imagery in the Prologue, the persistence of the Scriptural tradition of the fowler in Chaucer's own time, especially its reflection in literature, suggests the possibility that Chaucer, in using these details, was relying upon his audience's awareness of a dimension of meaning now lost to the modern reader. With this possibility in view, the present discussion is designed to provide a traditional Christian background which will not only illuminate Chaucer's imagery relating to the fowler but also bring this imagery into a more meaningful relationship with the conventional description of spring.

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[1] Prologue F, 125-139, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass. 1957). The corresponding lines in Prologue G are substantially the same.

The Scriptural parallel to Chaucer's details pertaining to the fowler may be illustrated by the following passage from Jeremiah: "For among my people are found wicked men, that lie in wait as fowlers, setting snares and traps to catch men. As a net is full of birds, so their houses are full of deceit." [2] The same details occur in the Book of Amos: "Will the bird fall into the snare upon the earth, if there is no fowler? Shall the snare be taken up from the earth, before it hath taken somewhat?" [3] The fowler (*auceps*) and his snare (*laqueus*) may appear in other guises in Scripture: thus he may be a hunter (*venator*),[4] and his snare may be a net (*rete*) or some other ruse for capturing his prey. But in traditional Scriptural commentary, this ominous figure with his subtle snare has been reduced to one common meaning: he is either Satan, the arch-enemy of Christ and the Church, or his followers — men or demons — who through various evil machinations entrap the unwary sinner and bring him to spiritual confusion. The following gloss on the preceding passage from Amos is indicative of the symbolic value which the fowler and his snare had for the Middle Ages: "Laqueus terrae seu aucupis, diabolus intelligendus est, qui in terrenis actibus seu per discordiam unitatis, electos velut aves capit." [5] The identification of the birds (*aves*) with the elect is also conventional. But one must be aware that birds, like most Scriptural symbols, have a dual meaning as symbols of both good and evil.[6] In relation to good, birds signify collectively the congregation of the faithful, whose spirits are in harmony with God.[7] Outwardly, this harmony is expressed in their flight above the earth, symbolic of the spiritual pilgrimage by which every true spirit seeks its home with God.[8] In relation to evil, on the other hand, birds signify man in his unredeemed state. Such birds, forgetful of their divine origin and burdened by sin, are deflected in their flight above the earth by the wiles of Satan and other evil spirits and are caught in the maze of the world. Thus St. Jerome, commenting on the aforementioned passage from Amos, contrasts those birds who follow their true nature and fly above the earth with those others who "perdant alas, quibus prius sublimiter ferebantur, et de coelis in terram corruant, et teneantur ab aucupe." These birds, who by their own volition ("propria voluntate") hover about the earth and are caught in the fowler's snare, receive the just punishment of all sinners "qui cum habuerint alas columbae, et per aerem volitare debuerint, pondere peccatorum ad terrena depressi sunt, et vitio suo adhaeserunt visco."[9] In the fourteenth century, Pierre Bersuire similarly uses the symbolism of the birds to contrast the faithful ("viri perfecti") with those others ("volatiles ac leves, vanos pariter & elatos") who wander through the air of this world and by their sins are caught in the fowler's net: "Sicut aves multis periculis sunt subjectae, quia aliquando capiuntur visco, laqueo, vel sagitta, sic vere vani homines, & superbi multis peccatorum periculis sunt subjecti, quia pro mundi delectabilibus acquirendis aliquando ab aucupe diabolo capiuntur, & visco luxuriae, sagitta invidiae astringuntur, quia *sicut pisces capiuntur hamo, & aves laqueo, sic capiuntur homines tempore malo.*"[10]

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[2] Jer. 5:26-27. All Scriptural quotations are from the New Catholic Edition (New York 1949-1950).

[3] Amos 3:5. One other passage in Scripture contains the image of the fowler (Prov. 6:5): "Deliver thyself as a doe from the hand, and as a bird from the hand of the fowler."

[4] E.g., Ps. 90:3; Ps. 123:7; Eccles. 7:27. One aspect of my subject, Satan as a hunter, has been touched upon briefly by D. W. Robertson, Jr., 'Why the Devil Wears Green,' *MLN*, LXIX (1954) 770-472.

[5] Haymo Halberstatensis, *Enarratio in Amos prophetam*, *PL*, CXVII, 111. Similar meanings are given to the hunter and his snare. See, for example, Pierre Bersuire (Petrus Berchorius), *Opera* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1730, 1731), VI, 176: "Item est venatio diabolicae machinationis. Diabolus enim tentando, & retia mundi delectabilium tendendo, non cessat animas venari, ut ipsas in inferno valeat depraedari." Bersuire quotes Eccles. 7:27. Cf. Augustine, *PL*, XXXVII, 1151 (on Ps. 90:3).

[6] "Potest (aves) significari dupliciter in Scriptura. Significat enim in malo, & in bono" (Bersuire, *Opera*, III, 230).

[7] "Per *aves* viri spirituales, ut in Genesi (15:10): *Aves autem non divisit... Avis*, anima hominis, ut in Job (5:7) ... quod anima pura in contemplatione se extendit" (*Allegoriae in sacram Scripturam*, *PL*, CXII, 871). Cf. Alanus de Insulis, *Distinctiones*, *PL*, CCX, 716 ("mens humana"), and Bersuire, *Opera*, III, 230.

[8] "Nam sicut avis naturaliter volat sursum, & ab istis inferioribus se elevat, & elongat, sic

As the foregoing examples indicate, the fowler's snare, in its various guises, may assume more than one specific meaning. Bersuire's classification of its meanings corresponds to the three higher levels of Scriptural exegesis — tropological, allegorical, and anagogical: "Est... triplex laqueus: (1) tentationis, (2) afflictionis, (3) damnationis." Tropologically, the snare of the fowler signifies all those sins, deadly or venial, by which man is tempted by Satan: "Interior & cordialis ... est laqueus peccatorum, & iste est laqueus tentationis, quo homines a diabolo capiuntur. Vel laqueus malae consuetudinis, quo in criminibus detinentur."[11] On this level, the snare may have as many particular meanings as there are sins by which men can be tempted. Thus the snare of pride has its Scriptural authority in Ps. 141: "In the path wherein I walk, they (*superbi*) have hidden a snare for me." Into this snare fall, for example, those who succumb to the temptations of worldly glory: "...laqueantur homines per superbiam, & isti sicut aves, quae, cum diligunt volatum, saepe cum non advertunt, laqueo capiuntur. Quia superbi, dum ludus & volatus mundanae gloriae eis placet, saepe sit, quod a diabolo per superbiam laqueantur."[12] The snare of covetousness finds its Scriptural basis in I Tim. 6:9-10:

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vere vir perfectus debet sursum volare per contemplationem, & desiderium, & affectionem ad bona coelestia & aeterna" (Bersuire, *Opera*, III, 231).

[9] *Comment. in Amos prophetam*, *PL*, XXV, 1016, Cf. Prov. 1:17 (cited by Jerome): "But a net is spread in vain before the eyes of them that have wings."

[10] *Opera*, III, 230. Bersuire quotes Eccles. 9:11.

[11] *Ibid.*, IV, 440 (Jer. 5:26-27 is cited).

[12] *Ibid.* Cf. Eccles. 9:12.

"But those who seek to become rich fall into temptation and a snare and into many useless and harmful desires, which plunge men into destruction and damnation."[13] Also, as a final example of its tropological significance, the snare may signify libidinous love (*luxuria*), as in Eccles. 7:27: "And I have found a woman more bitter than death, who is the hunter's snare, and her heart is a net, and her hands are bands."

Allegorically, in Scriptural commentary, the fowler's snare symbolizes the afflictions and tribulations of the world or Babylon, where man, exiled from his true home with God, must live out his earthly sojourn: "Laqueus afflictionis... est laqueus miserorum, & iste est laqueus tribulationum hujus mundi, quibus infortunati & miseri detinentur, de quo in Ps. 65: *Deduxisti nos in laqueum, posuisti tribulationem in dorso nostro.*"[14] Ideally, man's life on earth is portrayed as a pilgrimage from Babylon to the heavenly Jerusalem. But forgetful of his divine origin and destiny he is lured by the world's specious attractions. Riches, fame, dignities, beauty — all those temporal gifts of nature and fortune which God provides man for making his pilgrimage — are snares by which Satan the fowler tempts him to idolatry and leads him to eternal damnation.[15] Thus, anagogically, the fowler's snare is Hell itself: "Laqueus damnationis... est laqueus damnatorum, & iste est laqueus sententiae & ordinationis divinae, quae inferius aeternis tormentis damnatos laqueat & constringit."[16]

These exegetical meanings of the Scriptural fowler and his snare are the basis for one of the earliest literary uses of these images — that of Prudentius in the *Hamartigenia.* Although the fowler is but one of many Scriptural images employed to illustrate the nature and origin of sin, the elaborate and concrete detail with which Prudentius has enriched and vivified the Scriptural pattern is indicative of the poetic value acquired by these images as conventional literary symbols. The immediate context is a disquisition on man's moral freedom, which is illustrated by those birds who descend to the earth where the fowler has laid his snares:

> ... at times it chances that a milk-white cloud of doves floats down to the ground through the clear air in a rich countryside, where a cunning fowler (*callidus auceps*) has laid snares (*laqueos*) and smeared twigs with clinging bird-lime and sprinkled peas or treacherous meal to bait his traps, and some are tempted by the deceptive grains and their greedy throats are caught and held by the twisted hair-cord, or the soft glue grips their

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[13] Cf. Prov. 21:6.

[14] Bersuire, *Opera,* IV, 440.

[15] "Summa enim mundi bona sunt quaedam retia, ubi dum incaute homines appropinquarint, subito diabolus auceps trahit chordam avaritiae, & eos ibi detinet & involvit" (Bersuire, *Opera,* VI, 46, under "Rete").

[16] *Ibid.,* IV, 440.

> wings and binds them fast about them, but others, not enticed by love of eating, strut about unharmed on the bare grass and take care not to turn their eyes towards the suspicious food; and then, when it is time to fly back into the sky, some make for the starry heavens at liberty, clapping their wings far up in the air, while others lie prisoners, hurt and struggling on the ground with their feathers torn, and looking up in vain towards the flying breezes.

In such a manner, concludes Prudentius, souls with a common origin in heaven are placed on the earth and are confronted by agreeable temptations. While some resist the wiles of the fowler and again reach their heavenly home, many others are "entrapped by clinging food which does not let them fly to the breezes above." For this reason, God, in his foreknowledge, "lit the fires of Tartarus" and ordained a place for "the everlasting punishment of sin."[17]

To illustrate the persistence of this early literary tradition of the fowler in Chaucer's own time, we may turn to a poem well-known to Chaucer and his contemporary audience: Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*.[18] As in the *Hamartigenia*, the Scriptural basis of the imagery of the fowler and his snare is explicit; but to move from Prudentius' simple elaboration of Scripture to Deguilleville's extended treatment in the *Pilgrimage* is to enter the more complex realm of later medieval literary allegory in which such images have achieved a dramatic existence of their own. Utilizing the familiar Christian concept of the pilgrimage, the poem dramatizes, in the central character Pilgrim, the conflict besetting man in his spiritual journey to Jerusalem. The passage on the fowler follows Pilgrim's encounter with the vicious hag Heresy, whom he eludes only to be confronted by a more formidable foe, Heresy's father, who with his horn and snares and his "looke ryght pervers" is recognizable as Satan in his guise as a hunter. As he later informs Pilgrim, however, he sometimes appears as a fowler:

> "And, thus ffolkys to begyle,
> I am a ffoulere eke som whyle;
> ffor alle that hygh or lowe goon,
> I makë nettis ffor euerychoon,
> (In myne entente, it is no drede),
> To cacche hem, outher by ffoot or hede,
> As an vreyne mewyth a calle,
> To makë fflyes ther-in to ffalle." (19263-70)

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[17] Lines 804 ff., trans. H. J. Thomson, in *Prudentius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949) Vol. I. On the closely related figure of the hunter, see also lines 134 ff., where Prudentius similarly elaborates upon the Scriptural account of Nimrod (Gen. 10:8-9).

[18] Lydgate's translation, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, Ex. Ser., Nos. 77, 83, 92 (London 1899-1904).

The Scriptural pattern is completed in the description of the birds whom he catches in his "nettys" and prevents from returning to the air:

> "With nettys, I haue eke my repayre
> ffor bryddes that ffleen eke in the hayre,
> ffor to make hem ffalle adown
> ffrom ther contemplacyoun..." (19259-62)

These birds who fall down "ffrom ther contemplacyoun," Satan explains, are those whose minds are so fixed on worldly goods that they cannot see the emptiness of the world's glory. Falling into the sea of the world — "fful off disseyte," "woo," and "greet torment" — they become so bound by its weeds that they can neither swim nor fly. Thus with his "hook and lyne" — the latter called "Temptacyoun" — he draws into his snare all those who will consent. Some few, on the other hand, who have wings "ffor the fflyght," escape his snares. These are the contemplative, who, except for their "bare sustenaunce," take no pleasure in earthly things, for they set their minds on "the heuenly kynge" and fly to heaven with wings of virtue:

> "And, ffor the love off crist ihesu,
> They make hem whyngës off vertu,
> To ffleen (by clene affeccyoun)
> To the heuenly mansyoun;
> Which greetly displesith me,
> Theder whanne I se hem ffle." (19155-60)

These folk resemble a certain bird (the *Ortigometra*) which when tired drops into the water and sets up one wing as a sail until it can fly again. To such as these, who are strong in virtue, he can do no harm; for "ffeble" is his "vyolence" when "ther is manly resystence." But to tempt them he has a thousand "treynes" and as many "laas and cheynes" to hinder them with "ffalse illusyoun" and "dyssumylacyoun." True to his role as hunter and fowler, Satan proceeds to lay out his "trappys" to catch Pilgrim. But Pilgrim, seeing the danger and adversity of any exit by land or sea, defies Satan, makes the sign of the cross, and escapes.

In the *Pilgrimage*, Deguilleville exploits and dramatizes the broadest doctrinal implications of the Scriptural fowler and his snare.[19] In turning from such patent Christian symbolism to Chaucer's descriptive imagery in the Prologue, we move from a clearly defined Scriptural context to a conventional spring setting in which these details have been divested of any explicit Christian content. At the same time, the Scriptural connotations of the fowler are evoked concretely by such words and phrases as "foule cherl," "craft," "dispit," "betrayed," "distroyed" — all suggestive of evil and temptation. As in the preceding examples, moreover, the prime characteristic attributed to the fowler is his cupidity or "coveytise," a characteristic which in the Prologue is manifested specifically in his "sophistrye," that is to say, the subtle speech or suggestion used to entice his prey into his snare. Elsewhere in Chaucer, this attribute is vividly portrayed in the "softe speche" with which Satan (in the similarly deceptive guise of a yeoman) ensnares his victim, the summoner, under a pretense of friendship.[20] In Ecclus. 37:1-7, such sophistry is said to be characteristic of the false friend who is only a friend in name and who "layeth a snare" by his counsel.[21] Similarly, says Prov. 6:1, he who is surety for his friend has ensnared himself with his own words and should deliver himself "as a bird from the hand of the fowler." In the *De planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis, the "sophistry" of the hunter is said to be feared especially by one bird, the partridge (*perdix*): "Illic perdix nunc aeriae potestatis insultus, nunc venatorum sophismata, nunc canum latratus propheticos abhorrebat." [22] In the Middle Ages, the partridge is conventionally related to cupidity, a fact explained partly by his libidinous traits and partly by his small wings and consequent inability to soar to any great height.[23] For the latter reason, he is said to be a fearful bird, always fleeing the slightest sound, and thereby involving himself in the net of the fowler ("in rete aucupis").[24] Similarly, in Scripture the partridge is mentioned as an example of those who are easily caught in the "snares of the deceitful: "... as the partridge is brought into the cage, and as the roe into the snare, so also is the heart of the proud, and as a spy that looketh on the fall of his neighbor. For he lieth in wait and turneth good into evil, and on the elect he will lay a blot." [25] Just as the partridge and other birds are lured into a net "per sibilum aucupis," says Bersuire, so man himself is enticed to sin by the deceit or sophistry of Satan.[26]

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[19] In order to emphasize the imagery relating specifically to the fowler, the preceding summary presents only the bare outline of this episode. Striking parallels may be drawn between Satan in the *Pilgrimage* and Satan in Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*. In both poems he appears in a deceptive guise by which he attempts to ensnare his victim, and in each instance he is the spokesman for the theological doctrines relating to this function as one of "Goddes instrummentz" (*The Friar's Tale*, 1482 ff.).

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[20] *The Friar's Tale*, 1412 ff.

[21] Cf. Ecclus. 37:21 ("He that speaketh sophistically is hateful: he shall be destitute of everything"); Ecclus. 51:3, and Prov. 29:5 ("A man that speaketh to his friend with flattering and dissembling words, spreadeth a net for his feet").

[22] *PL*, CCXVI, 436.

[23] "Et habent parum de plumis, ideo parum volant" (Bersuire, *Opera*, II, 211). Bersuire compares the partridge to the lecherous — "luxuriosus paucis plumis indutus virtutum, multis carnalibus implicitus, ad spiritualia parum volat... ac per hoc in rete luxuriae se involvit."

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 211.

[25] Ecclus. 11:32-33.

[26] Bersuire, *Opera*, IV, 355, who quotes Ecclus. 16:32-33 on the partridge: "Secundo est inductio mala, & deceptoria. Et ista est illa, qua a diabolo, vel a mundo trahimur & inducimur ad peccatum. Sicut enim avis, quae per sibilum aucupis, & per oblectationem in laque-

The preceding discussion has been designed primarily to indicate the traditional Christian values informing the imagery of the fowler and his snare in writings before Chaucer. If this earlier tradition provides a meaningful frame of reference for the similar details in Chaucer's Prologue, it also provides a context which brings these details into a significant relationship with the conflict underlying the more conventional description of spring. This conflict appears as a contrast between winter and spring, a contrast which in medieval Christian doctrine is indicative of two spiritual opposites. Just as the fowler, both in the Prologue and in the earlier examples, is typified by his "coveytise," so winter, which the birds associate with such "coveytise," is expressive of spiritual frigidity, the state of sin or infidelity before the advent of Christ, the Sun of Justice.[27] With its rain, ice, snow, and other adversities, winter also signifies the tribulations of the present life.[28] For this reason, it is commonly associated with Satan, the "princeps confusionis" from the North whose "coveytise" tempts men's hearts and causes them to become constricted and frozen in sin.[29] In welcome contrast, therefore, is spring, when (to use Chaucer's imagery) the "atempre sonne" relieves the "pore estat" of the earth and infuses it and all its creatures with the warmth of the Holy Spirit. Then, just as the face of the earth is renewed, so men's hearts are renewed by divine grace, and the Sun of Justice resolves those sins "quae in corde per frigus peccatorum fuerant congelatae et constipatae."[30] Spring is the time of the Resurrection and therefore a promise of man's salvation and deliverance from Satan.[31]

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um inducitur: sic homo per suggestionem diabolicam, & per mundi vel carnis oblectamenta ad peccata & vitia trahitur. Unde Eccl. 11. *Sicut perdix inducitur in caveam...*" Cf. *All. in sacram Script.*, col. 982: *Laqueus* est suggestio, ut in Psalmis: *Ipse liberat me de laqueo venatoris*" (90:3), id est de suggestione daemonum tentantium. Per *laqueum*, deceptiones (Ps. 10:7)."

[27] Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum allegorice expositio*, *PL*, XCI, 1110; Haymo, *Enarratio in Cantica Canticorum*, *PL*, CXVII, 306 ("Hiems et imbris nomine, asperitas infidelitas exprimitur quae totum mundum tenebat usque ad adventum Christi"); *All. in sacram Scrip.*, col. 588; Alanus, *Distinctiones*, col. 69; Bersuire, *Opera*, II, 126 ("Vel hyems est status peccati in genere, in quo Sol justitiae non est praesens, ad suae gratiae infusionem").

[28] Gregory, *Super Cantica Canticorum expositio*, *PL*, LXXIX, 498; Alanus, *Distinctiones*, col. 810.

[29] In *The Friar's Tale*, 1413-1414, Satan reveals that his "hous" is "fer in the north contree." On the significance of this familiar medieval idea, cf. Augustine, *PL*, XXXIII, 561.

[30] Bersuire, *Opera*, II, 124 ('De vere'). Cf. Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum*, col. 1110: "At ubi Sol justitiae mundo illuxit abscedente mox ac depulsa prisca brumalis infidelitatis perfidia, flores apparuerunt in terra, quia initia jam nascentis Ecclesiae in sanctorum fideli ac pia devotione claruerunt"; Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, *PL*, CXI, 302-3.

[31] "Mystice autem ver Baptisimi novitatem significat, aut renovationem vitae post frigus infidelitatis, et pigritiae torporem: sive resurrectionem corporum post mortis occubitum... quo etiam tempore Salvatcr post passionem a morte surrexit, et spem nobis resurrectionis tribuit" (Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, cols. 302-303).

Thus it is an occasion for hope and rejoicing. In Cant. 2:10-12, the spirit's joy over the coming of spring and the end of winter's tribulations is expressed in the Spouse's song of rejoicing at the coming of Christ the Bridegroom: "Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers have appeared in our land." In Chaucer's Prologue, the Spouse's song has its counterpart in the birds' similar joy at the end of winter and its "swerd of cold" and in their songs in praise of love and St. Valentine.[32] As the patron saint of love, St. Valentine is an appropriate symbol of the divine bond of love which in spring renews all of God's creatures and which in man relieves the heart of "coveytise" and moves him to fulfill his divine destiny. In such terms, the birds' defiance of the fowler and "al his craft" becomes the song of the faithful or the elect, the "new song" of love or charity, a paean to the power of Christ, the Sun of Justice, to deliver them from the snares of Satan the fowler or hunter: "For he will deliver you from the snares of the hunters, from the deadly plague. He will protect you with his wings, and you shall take refuge beneath his wings."[33]

Although the attribution of this body of traditional Christian symbolism to Chaucer's imagery in the Prologue must perhaps in the last analysis remain tentative, to ignore it is to overlook a context which brings the imagery of the fowler and the imagery of spring into a more meaningful and inclusive pattern. Regarding the fowler in particular, the probability that Chaucer had the Scriptural imagery in mind, or that his audience would think of it, appears to be strong. As we have seen, it occurs in Bersuire, a fourteenth century author of some influence, as well as in standard commentaries. It also appears in literary works, one of which, Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage*, was demonstrably known to Chaucer. Finally, and perhaps most revealing, the pervasive note of deliverance in the birds' song in defiance of the fowler and his "craft," along with the aura of evil and betrayal surrounding this ominous figure, is one that would have readily turned the mind of the alert medieval reader to the background of Satan, the source of all such craft and betrayal. If we may approach the imagery of the Prologue in this light, we may observe Chaucer's gift for employing conventional description as an unobtrusive vehicle for traditional Christian symbolism.

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[32] The imagery from the Canticle is echoed explicitly in *The Merchant's Tale*, 2138 ff., where the lustful January ironically sings the Spouse's song in enticing May into his garden.

[33] Ps. 90:3-4. Cf. Ps. 123:7.

A Neglected Thomistic Text on the Foundation of Mathematics

ARMAND MAURER C. S. B.

EVER since the time of Plato philosophers have been concerned with the nature of mathematics and its relation to reality. The discovery in modern times of new types of mathematics, such as the non-Euclidean geometries, has added new difficulties to the problem, while making its solution more urgent. The ancient view of mathematics as the science of quantity, or of space and number, appears to the modern mind as narrow, in the light of such discoveries as projective geometry and group theory. We are told that "Geometry, inasmuch as it is concerned with real space, is no longer considered a part of pure mathematics; like mechanics and physics, it belongs among the applications of mathematics."[1] This is in agreement with the views of Kant, who set the tone for the modern philosophy of mathematics when he declared that mathematical knowledge is that which reason gains not from concepts but from the *construction* of concepts.[2] No less an authority in mathematical physics than Albert Einstein asserted, in the Kantian spirit, that mathematics is a product of the human mind independent of all experience.[3] Along with this emancipation of mathematics from reality we find the obliteration, in some circles, of the distinction between mathematics and logic, under the influence of the general arithmetic of hypercomplex numbers, axiomatic investigations, set theory and symbolic logic.[4]

The observations of St. Thomas on mathematics take us back to an era when mathematical knowledge was still in its infancy. His knowledge of mathematics was limited to Euclidean geometry and arithmetic. An Arabian treatise on algebra was translated into Latin in the twelfth century by Robert of Chester, but St. Thomas shows no knowledge of it.[5] As for his philosophical views on mathematics, his interpreters are far from being in agreement. Frequently his conception of the object of mathematics is understood to be frankly, and even naively realistic. For example, J. Gredt tells us that, according to Aristotle and St. Thomas, the object of mathematics is real quantity. The mathematician abstracts the essence of quantity, while leaving out of consideration its relation to the real being of corporeal substance in which it exists. Quantity, thus considered, is not a being of reason (*ens rationis*), but a real being (*ens reale*). Of course, this is true only for Euclidean geometry and arithmetic. Modern mathematicians, Fr. Gredt continues, extend mathematical speculation to fictitious quantity, which is not a real being but only a being of reason. This is a special, transcendental mathematics, essentially distinct from real mathematics.[6]

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[1] H. Weyl, *Philosophy of Mathematics and Natural Science* (Princeton 1949) p. 62.

[2] I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. N. K. Smith (London 1950) p. 577. Cited by H. Weyl, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[3] A. Einstein, *Geometrie und Erfahrung* (Berlin, 1921). Cited by P. Hoenen, 'De Philosophia Scholastica Cognitionis Geometricae', *Gregorianum* XIX (1938) 505.

[4] Cf. H. Weyl, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[5] L. Karpinski. *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi* (New York, 1915).

More recently, V. Smith has stated without qualification that for St. Thomas geometry is "not a study of an ideal order but a science of the real world."[7] Its object is intelligible matter, or in other words substance with unterminated dimensions of quantity, which is something "truly real." He concludes: "Euclidean geometry is the science of what is real but not physical, imaginable but not sensible, truly essential but not natural and mobile." It is accordingly a science in its own right with an object existing in the physical world.[8]

Other Thomists, while conceding that mathematical concepts have a real foundation, stress the role played by the intellect in their formation. In his monumental *Les degrés du savoir* J. Maritain agrees with Fr. Gredt in characterizing the objects of Euclidean geometry and the arithmetic of whole numbers as *entia realia*, in distinction to the objects of modern types of mathematics which are *entia rationis*.[9] The basis of this distinction is the fact that the former can exist outside the mind in the material world, whereas the latter cannot. Straight lines, circles, and whole numbers are found in sensible things, but not irrational numbers or the constructions of non-Euclidean geometry. Maritain emphasizes, however, that mathematical entities found in the real world acquire an ideal purity in the mind of the mathematician which they do not have in their real existence. Through the abstractive activity of the intellect these entities undergo an ideal purification which affects not only their mode of being but their very definition. There are no points, lines or whole numbers in the real world with the conditions proper to mathematical abstraction: in nature there are no points without lines, lines without thickness, or abstract numbers.[10]

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[6] "Obiectum Matheseos est quantitas realis ita tamen secundum quidditatem suam abstracte et inadaequate considerata, ut non dicat ordinem ad esse reale in substantia corporea seu in ente mobili... Quantitas ita considerata non est quidem ens rationis, sed ens reale, tamen ita abstracte consideratur, ut abstrahat etiam ab esse reali et esse rationis. Recentes mathematici speculationem mathematicam usque ad quantitatem fictam extendunt, quae non est ens reale, sed rationis tantum, ut est quarta dimensio, quae secundum essentiam suam positive excludit ordinem ad esse reale. Ita constituitur Mathesis quaedam specialis, quae vocatur Mathesis transcendentalis et quae a Mathesi reali essentialiter distinguitur neque ad eam pertinet nisi reductive." J. Gredt, *Elementa Philosophiae Aristotelico-Thomisticae* (Freiburg 1929) vol. I, p. 194.

[7] V. Smith, *St. Thomas on the Object of Geometry* (Milwaukee 1954) p. 65.

[8] V. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.

[9] J. Maritain, *Distinguer pour unir, ou Les degrés du savoir* (Paris 1932) pp. 283-285.

According to John of St. Thomas, mathematical quantity must be distinguished both from imaginary quantity, which is an *ens rationis*, and from real quantity. The quantity considered by the mathematician is not precisely a being of reason nor a real being but is indifferent to both. This accounts for the fact that mathematical demonstrations are equally valid for both real and imaginary quantity.[11]

It would be presumptuous in this brief note to pass judgment on the accuracy of these different interpretations of the thought of St. Thomas. Our purpose is simply to call attention to a text of St. Thomas on the foundation of mathematics which, to the present writer's knowledge, has not been taken into account in estimating his views on mathematics. Although brief, the text is significant for it places mathematical notions on the same level as those of logic, as far as their foundation in reality is concerned. The immediate foundation for both is said to be the activity of the intellect; only remotely do they have a basis in reality.

The text in question is found in St. Thomas' *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, I, d. 2, a. 3. Fr. A. Dondaine has shown that this article was a separate *Quaestio Disputata* composed by St. Thomas at Rome between the years 1265 and 1267, and inserted by the author himself in his commentary on the *Sentences*.[12] Unlike the rest of the commentary, therefore, this article is not an early writing of St. Thomas but dates from his mature years.

The subject of the article is the distinction between the divine attributes and their foundation in God. St. Thomas contends that divine attributes, such as wisdom and goodness, are entirely one in God Himself, but they differ in *ratio*. By *ratio* he means "that which the intellect apprehends about the meaning of a name." If the object of the intellect can be defined, its *ratio* is identical with its definition. St. Thomas warns us that *ratio* is not to be confused with the concept existing in the intellect; it is rather the "intention" of a concept (*sed significat intentionem hujus conceptionis*). In short, the *ratio* is the meaning or significance of a concept. Now is there any sense in which a *ratio* so understood exists in reality? Yes, St. Thomas replies. Of course the *ratio* itself has no real existence, any more than the concept does to which the *ratio* is attached. But a *ratio* may be said to exist in reality if there is something real which corresponds to the concept, as an object signified corresponds to its sign.[13]

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[10] J. Maritain, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 328.

[11] John of St. Thomas, *Cursus theologicus*, I, disp. 6, a. 2 (Paris 1931) vol. I, p. 534. For P. Hoenen, the objects of geometry are not a pure creation, but they presuppose a constructive activity of our mind exercised upon a given matter, namely extension. Geometry is a discovery of extension, with its properties, in the physical, concrete object, and this physical extension must have geometrical properties. See P. Hoenen, "Pour une philosophie de la connaissance de l'étendu physique," *Gregorianum* XXX (1949) 195, 196. For E. Maziarz, mathematical beings are *entia realia* and not merely *entia rationis* (which he identifies with logical beings). They are not purely fictitious, yet they are as such incapable of extra-mental existence. See his *The Philosophy of Mathematics* (New York 1950) p. 208, and p. 227, note 125.

[12] Cf. A. Dondaine, 'Saint Thomas et la dispute des attributs divins (I Sent., d. 2, a. 3) authenticité et origine,' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* VIII (1938) 253-62.

In order to clarify this latter point, St. Thomas describes three ways in which concepts are related to reality. 1) Some concepts are likenesses of realities existing outside the soul; for example the concept of man. A concept of this sort has an immediate foundation in reality, so that the truth of the concept is caused by reality itself and the name signifying the concept is properly predicated of reality. 2) Some concepts are not likenesses of realities existing outside the soul, but the intellect comes upon (*adinvenit*) their intentions as a consequence of the way it understands reality. For example, the concept "genus" is not the likeness of a reality outside the soul; but from the fact that the intellect understands that there are a number of species of animals it attributes to animal the intention of "genus". An intention of this sort has only a remote foundation in the real world; its proximate foundation is in the intellect itself. The same is true, St. Thomas continues, of all other intentions which follow upon our way of understanding, for example mathematical abstractions (*abstractio mathematicorum*), and the like. 3) Some concepts have no foundation in reality, either remote or proximate, as in the case of the concept of a chimera. This is not the concept of a reality, nor does it follow upon the way we understand reality. For this reason St. Thomas calls it a false concept.

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[13] "Quantum ad primum pertinet, sciendum est, quod ratio, prout hic sumitur, nihil aliud est quam id quod apprehendit intellectus de significatione alicujus nominis: et hoc in his quae habent definitionem est ipsa rei definitio, secundum quod philosophus dicit, IV *Metaph.*, text. 11: "Ratio quam significat nomen est definitio." Sed quaedam dicuntur habere rationem sic dictam, quae non definiuntur, sicut quantitas et qualitas, et hujusmodi, quae non definiuntur, quia sunt genera generalissima. Et tamen ratio qualitatis est id quod significatur nomine qualitatis; et hoc est illud ex quo qualitas habet quod sit qualitas. Unde non refert, utrum illa quae dicuntur habere rationem, habeant vel non habeant definitionem. Et sic patet quod ratio sapientiae quae de Deo dicitur, est id quod concipitur de significatione hujus nominis, quamvis ipsa sapientia divina definiri non possit. Nec tamen hoc nomen 'ratio' significat ipsam conceptionem, quia hoc significatur per nomen rei; sed significat intentionem hujus conceptionis, sicut et hoc nomen 'definitio', et alia nomina secundae impositionis.

"Et ex hoc patet secundum, scilicet qualiter ratio dicatur esse in re. Non enim hoc dicitur, quasi ipsa intentio quam significat nomen rationis, sit in re; aut etiam ipsa conceptio, cui convenit talis intentio, sit in re extra animam, cum sit in anima sicut in subjecto: sed dicitur esse in re, inquantum in re extra animam est aliquid quod respondet conceptioni animae, sicut significatum signo." *Sent.*, I, d. 2, a. 3; ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris 1929) vol. I, pp. 66, 67.

St. Thomas concludes that, properly speaking, a *ratio* can be said to exist in reality only in the first case, namely when the concept is a likeness of a reality, for only then does the object signified by the concept exist in reality.[14]

We are not here concerned with the relevance of this analysis to the problem of the divine attributes, but rather with the light it throws incidentally upon the foundation of mathematics. St. Thomas classifies mathematical intentions with those of logic as having only a remote foundation in reality; their proximate basis is the intellect itself. The term St. Thomas uses to designate mathematical intentions is *abstractio mathematicorum*, which can be translated either "the abstraction of mathematicals" or "the abstraction of the mathematicians." In either case, the term does not refer to the *act* of abstracting the objects of mathematics but to the intentions themselves devised by the mathematician. St. Thomas uses *abstractio mathematicorum* simply as an example of an intention which the intellect comes upon following the way it understands reality. This is in accord with Aristotle's use of the term "abstractions" (*τὰ ἐξ ἀφαιϱέσεως*) to designate mathematical objects resulting from the abstractive activity of the intellect.[15] As further examples of intentions which the intellect comes upon as a consequence of its way of knowing, St. Thomas mentions privations and negations.[16] Intentions of this kind are secondary objects of the intellect; things themselves are its primary object.[17]

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[14] "Unde sciendum, quod ipsa conceptio intellectus tripliciter se habet ad rem quae est extra animam. Aliquando enim hoc quod intellectus concipit, est similitudo rei existentis extra animam, sicut hoc quod concipitur de hoc nomine 'homo'; et talis conceptio intellectus habet fundamentum in re immediate, inquantum res ipsa, ex sua conformitate ad intellectum, facit quod intellectus sit verus, et quod nomen significans illum intellectum proprie de re dicatur. Aliquando autem hoc quod significat nomen non est similitudo rei existentis extra animam, sed est aliquid quod consequitur ex modo intelligendi rem quae est extra animam; et hujusmodi sunt intentiones quas intellectus noster adinvenit; sicut significantum hujus nominis 'genus' non est similitudo alicujus rei extra animam existentis; sed ex hoc quod intellectus intelligit animal ut in pluribus speciebus, attribuit ei intentionem generis et hujusmodi intentionis licet proximum fundamentum non sit in re, sed in intellectu, tamen remotum fundamentum est res ipsa. Unde intellectus non est falsus, qui has intentiones adinvenit. Et simile est de omnibus aliis qui consequuntur ex modo intelligendi, sicut est abstractio mathematicorum et hujusmodi. Aliquando vero id quod significatur per nomen, non habet fundamentum in re, neque proximum, neque remotum, sicut conceptio chimerae: quia neque est similitudo alicujus rei extra animam, neque consequitur ex modo intelligendi rem aliquam vere: et ideo ista conceptio est falsa. Unde patet secundum, scilicet quod ratio dicitur esse in re, inquantum significatum nominis, cui accidit esse rationem, est in re: et hoc contingit proprie quando conceptio intellectus est similitudo rei." *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[15] Aristotle, *Post. Anal.*, I, 18, 81b3. See M.-D. Philippe, 'Abstraction, Addition, Séparation dans la philosophie d'Aristote,' *Revue thomiste* XLVIII (1948) 462.

The terms used by St. Thomas to describe the intentions of mathematics in the *Scriptum* text are the same as those with which he describes an *ens rationis*. In contrast to a being of nature (*ens naturae*), he tells us, a being of reason (*ens rationis*) is properly speaking an intention which reason comes upon (*adinvenit*) in the things it considers, for example the intention of genus, species and the like, which are not found in the nature of things but follow upon the consideration of reason.

> Ens autem rationis dicitur proprie de illis intentionibus, quas ratio adinvenit in rebus consideratis; sicut intentio generis, speciei et similium, quae quidem non inveniuntur in rerum natura, sed considerationem rationis consequuntur.[18]

Similarly, in the *Scriptum* text St. Thomas describes both the objects of logic and of mathematics as intentions which the intellect hits upon (*intellectus... has intentiones adinvenit*). The term *adinvenit* has no exact equivalent in English. It does not simply mean "discovers", for we are told that these intentions are not found in reality (*non inveniuntur in rerum natura*). We do not discover them as we do forms existing in the real world. Yet they are not pure creations of the mind independent of experience. Our intellect hits upon them or devises them as a consequence of its knowledge of reality.[19] Hence both reality and the intellect have a role to play in their elaboration. In this sense they can be called elaborations of the intellect, or more simply and accurately beings of reason.

Does this mean that mathematics, like logic, has for its object beings of reason? This seems to be the implication of the *Scriptum* text. Yet St. Thomas tells us in his commentary on the *Metaphysics* that beings of reason are properly the subject of logic. In contrast to logic, the subject of philosophy (which for St. Thomas includes mathematics),[20] is real being (*ens*

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[16] "Nam negatio vel privatio non est ens naturae, sed rationis, sicut dictum est." *Metaph.*, IV, lect. 1 (Turin 1935) n. 560. Cf. nn. 540, 541.

[17] "Prima enim intellecta sunt res extra animam, in quae primo intellectus intelligenda fertur. Secunda autem intellecta dicuntur intentiones consequentes modum intelligendi: hoc enim secundo intellectus intelligit in quantum reflectitur supra se ipsum, intelligens se intelligere et modum quo intelligit." *De Potentia*, VII, 9.

[18] *Metaph.*, IV, lect. 4, n. 574.

[19] St. Thomas also uses the term *adinvenit* to designate the craftman's "hitting upon" the form of the work he intends to make: "Cum enim intellectus artificis adinvenit aliquam formam artificiati, ipsa natura seu forma artificiati in se considerata, est posterior intellectu artificis." *Quodl.*, VIII, a. 1.

[20] St. Thomas classifies mathematics with metaphysics and the philosophy of nature as

naturae)[21]. Again, he makes it clear that logic alone concerns intentions.[22] Mathematics, on the other hand, has to do with quantity and its properties, for example the circle and triangle, which are forms existing in reality.[23] St. Thomas writes: "Just as the form of man exists in that special matter which is the organic body, so the form of circle or triangle exists in that special matter which is the continuum or surface or body."[24] From this it appears that, in St. Thomas' view, the objects of mathematics are real forms. Why then does he classify mathematical intentions with those of logic in his *Scriptum?*

The answer to this question is apparent if we reflect on the special character of the objects of mathematics. St. Thomas does not deny that lines and circles exist in sensible reality, but he points out that they are not of the same kind as those investigated by the mathematical sciences: *in istis sensibilibus non sunt tales lineae et tales circuli, quales scientiae mathematicae quaerunt.*[25] This is shown by the fact that mathematical entities do not always have the same properties as their real foundation. To consider but one example: mathematical circles and lines have properties which do not belong to sensible circles and lines. Euclid, for example, proves that a straight line touches a circle at only one point, but this is not true of circles and straight lines in the real world.[26]

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one of the "philosophical disciplines," but he does not put it on the same level as these parts of philosophy. Arithmetic and geometry, like logic, are liberal arts, and as such they are merely preparatory to the study of philosophy. Moreover, like the other liberal arts, they involve not only knowledge but certain direct products of reason. Arithmetic, for example, involves numbering and geometry measuring. Mathematics has consequently both a cognitive and a productive side. See *Expositio super Librum Boethii De Trinitate,* V, 1; ed. Decker, pp. 164-6; ad 3m, pp. 167, 168.

[21] "Et hujusmodi, scilicet ens rationis, est proprie subjectum logicae. Hujusmodi autem intentiones intelligibiles, entibus naturae aequiparantur, eo quod omnia entia naturae sub consideratione rationis cadunt. Et ideo subjectum logicae ad omnia se extendit, de quibus ens naturae praedicatur. Unde concludit, quod subjectum logicae aequiparatur subjecto philosophiae, quod est ens naturae." *Metaph.*, IV, lect. 4, n. 574.

[22] "Sunt autem scientiae de rebus, non autem de speciebus, vel intentionibus intelligibilibus, nisi sola scientia rationalis." *De Anima*, III, lect. 8 (Turin 1936) n. 718.

[23] "Et de huiusmodi abstractis est mathematica, quae considerat quantitates et ea quae quantitates consequuntur, ut figuras et huiusmodi." *Expositio super Librum Boethii De Trinitate,* V, 3; p. 184, lines 20-22.

[24] "Sicut enim forma homini est in tali materia, quae est corpus organicum, ita forma circuli vel trianguli est in hac materia quae est continuum vel superficies vel corpus." *Metaph.*, VII, lect. 10, n. 1496.

[25] *Metaph.*, XI, lect. 1, n. 2161.

[26] "Et ideo in mathematicis oportet cognitionem secundum iudicium terminari ad imaginationem, non ad sensum, quia iudicium mathematicum superat apprehensionem sensus. Unde non est idem iudicium quandoque de linea mathematica quod est de linea sensibili, sicut in hoc quod recta linea tangit sphaeram solum secundum punctum, quod convenit rectae lineae separatae, non autem rectae lineae in materia, ut dicitur in I De anima." *Ex-*

From one point of view, therefore, the objects of mathematics are real, but from another, and perhaps more significant point of view they are devised by the intellect. They are real in the sense that they have a remote foundation in the real world. They are not, however, immediately grounded upon reality. As a consequence, the truth of mathematical judgments does not consist in their conformity with reality, nor are mathematical terms properly predicated of reality. The immediate and most significant basis of mathematical concepts is the activity of the intellect itself.

If this is true, the objects of mathematics are, for St. Thomas, beings of reason, although of a different type from those of logic. Both are the work of the intellect, but their remote foundations in reality are different. The real foundation of our logical notions is the unity in reality of the various *rationes* we conceive of it. This is exemplified by the basic logical notion of predicability. "Predication", St. Thomas writes, "is something completed by the intellect in its act of combining and dividing, having for its foundation in reality the unity of those things, one of which is said of the other. Hence the notion of predicability can be included in the notion of the intention 'genus', which is also completed by an act of the intellect."[27] The logical relation of predicability is not found in reality, but it has a remote basis there. The intellect sees that one and the same reality (for example, Socrates) is both man and animal, and consequently it knows that it can predicate animal of man in the judgment "Man is an animal." Following upon this, the intellect hits upon or devises the logical relation of predicability, which is not a real relation but one between concepts, having a remote foundation in reality.

The real foundation of mathematical notions, on the other hand, is the physical extended universe. Because the universe is extended in space and is divisible into numerically different parts, the mathematician can devise the notions of straight line, circle, whole numbers and the like. Here, as in the case of logic, what is given in experience must be "completed" by the activity of the intellect. Consequently, mathematical abstractions are not totally independent of experience, nor are they found ready made, so to speak, in reality. The importance of the *Scriptum* text lies in the fact that it shows St. Thomas' awareness of the central role in mathematics of the creative work of the intellect, by locating the immediate foundation of mathematics not in reality but in the activity of the intellect.

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positio super Librum Boethii De Trinitate, VI, 2, p. 216, lines 20-26. Cf. *Metaph.*, III, lect. 7, n. 416; Aristotle, *De Anima*, I, 1, 403a12-6.

[27] "Predicatio enim est quiddam quod completur per actionem intellectus componentis et diuidentis, habens fundamentum in re ipsa unitatem eorum quorum unum de altero dicitur. Unde ratio predicabilitatis potest claudi in ratione huiusmodi intentionis que est genus, que similiter per actum intellectus completur." *De Ente et Essentia*, III; ed. Roland-Gosselin (Paris 1948) p. 29, lines 13-8.

Pronouns of Address in the "Canterbury Tales"

NORMAN NATHAN

SOME studies are available on the usage of the pronouns of address in Middle English,[1] but the greatest literary work of the period has yet to be investigated in detail as to the "use of *ye* in the function of *thou*." An analysis of the "Friar's Tale" showed a remarkable consistency of usage.[2] Does Chaucer exhibit the same consistency throughout the *Canterbury Tales?*

What constitutes correct usage of the pronouns of address has been briefly and suitably expressed by Skeat. "*Thou* is the language of a lord to a servant, of an equal to an equal, and expresses also companionship, love, permission, defiance, scorn, threatening; whilst *ye* is the language of a servant to a lord, and of compliment, and further expresses honour, submission, or entreaty." *Thou* would be informal, while *ye* would be formal.

An examination of the Robinson text of the *Canterbury Tales* showed that, of 2281 uses of the pronouns of address in the singular, Chaucer correctly distinguished between the formal and informal forms approximately ninety-eight percent of the time.[4] Preliminary investigation indicated that there might be eighty-three exceptions to correct usage, but further analysis reduced the number of true exceptions to forty-seven. Most of the original eighty-three fell into one of three groups: (1) rime words and words used in proximity to such — thirteen; (2) addresses to God or any of the mythological gods — twenty-three; (3) genitive case — twenty-three.

Poetic license is sufficient to account for the first group though one dislikes to attribute much of it to a poet of Chaucer's versatility. In fairness to the poet it should be added that these lapses are unlikely to occur in dramatic moments. The fact that scribes generally do not correct these instances is not necessarily proof of the scribe's approval, for the correction of rime imposes more than the slight change involved in switching from "ye" to "thou" or *vice versa.* On the other hand, while these thirteen uses *may* be incorrect, they cannot be considered as evidence of error and should be subtracted from the true exceptions.

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[1] Arthur G. Kennedy, *The Pronoun of Address in English Literature of the Thirteenth Century*, Stanford University Publications, University Series (1915); Russell Osborn Stidston, *The Use of Ye in the Function of Thou*, Stanford University Publications, University Series (1917); Charles C. Walcutt, 'The Pronoun of Address in *Troilus and Criseyde*,' *P. Q.*, XIV (1935) 282-287.

[2] See my 'Pronouns of Address in the *Friar's Tale*,' *M.L.Q.*, XVII (1956) 39-42. Chaucer's use of the pronouns of address for dramatic and poetic effectiveness is demonstrated in this article and therefore excluded from the above discussion.

[3] W. W. Skeat, ed., *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford 1894) V, 175.

[4] Line numbers and quotations from Chaucer are from the *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. by F. N. Robinson (Boston 1933). The 2281 uses do not include pronouns of address in the prose tales or pronouns addressed to the reader(s?). The reasons for these exclusions will be given later.

The second group, errors of which type occur only in the "Knight's Tale" and the "Franklin's Tale," suggests no firmly established usage in addressing a deity. This seems particularly true when it is found that the latter tale is otherwise perfect in its usage. This should not be surprising since, while a plural to a deity had neither the sanction of the older tradition nor the approval of the more recent French custom, a newcomer to polite usage might occasionally slip into the so-called polite form when addressing God. Stidston found a number of instances in fourteenth century manuscripts of this use of the plural.[5] Besides, it would be statistically unlikely for twenty-three of the seventy exceptions to occur in prayers, for only a small percentage of the pronouns in the various tales are addressed to a deity. Thus the number of true exceptions may be further reduced.

Of the remaining forty-seven, almost one half are in the genitive, and again the argument of no firmly established usage presents itself.[6] But, since a large percentage of pronouns are in the genitive, it is to be expected that a large percentage of errors will likewise be in the genitive. All forty-seven instances should therefore be considered as incorrect, unless textual variations indicate otherwise.[7]

An examination of the variants in the Manly-Rickert edition,[8] however, shows that there are probably no instances where the Robinson text needs revision as far as these specific pronouns of address are concerned. In twenty-eight cases there is no deviation among the manuscripts. In another nine cases, only one manuscript (though not generally the same one) departs from its fellows. Seven more cases show variation in from three to eight manuscripts. But detailed consideration should be reserved for lines Kt 920, Kt 921, and CY 1360 where there is more substantial disagreement.

In each of these three instances, Robinson is numerically justified and manuscript quality supports the evidence of numbers. Manly-Rickert write, "El, Hg, *a* [Cn, Dd, Ds, En^1, and Ma], and Gg are for the most part derived from a better text."[9] Of the twelve manuscripts that have *your* for Kt 920 (rather than the majority reading of *thy*) only two belong to the "better text" group. And for Kt 921, not one of the thirteen manuscripts that have the plural form fits into this group.

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[5] Pp. 45-9.

[6] Walcutt, p. 285, found only two "unquestioned exceptions" to correct usage in *Troilus and Criseyde,* and they "are in the genitive case, whatever significance this may have."

[7] The figures in this paper are not intended to be absolute but as a close approximation. Others might interpret differently some debatable uses. And it is only too likely that a few uses remain uncounted in the writer's tabulation, though twice performed.

[8] J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, ed., *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago 1940), 8 vols.

With CY 1360 the evidence is more debatable. Here, approximately half of the manuscripts use some form of the plural, while both Robinson and Manly-Rickert use *thee*. The "better text" group is evenly divided. However, three of the manuscripts in this group (El, Hg, and Dd) appear to be the most reliable as far as usage of the pronouns of address is concerned. Not one of them, for example, departs from majority reading (except for Dd, which in one line omits the pronoun altogether) in any of the forty-seven instances under discussion. Their use of *thee* for CY 1360 helps to corroborate the Robinson text.

In addition, among the manuscripts containing the plural for CY 1360 are Ad^1, Bo^1, En^3, and Ht. On several occasions one or more of these manuscripts were among the few that departed from an almost unanimous reading. This, plus the fact that they date from the latter half of the fifteenth century, may well indicate that their forms are the result of an attempt to correct an original error in Chaucer's text. At any rate, it would appear that CY 1360 should remain among the forty-seven incorrect usages of the pronoun of address.

From the above it may be concluded that Chaucer about once in fifty times departed from usage which was not too perfectly adhered to in fourteenth century England.[10] But some tales are less correct than others, and a grouping according to the number of lapses is useful. (Unless otherwise stated, prologues and links are included with the appropriate tales.)

GROUP I (no errors)

	Informal	Formal	Correct	Incorrect[11]
Cook	14		14	
Franklin	26	93	119(0-15)[12]	
General Prol.		2	2	
Manciple	76	5	81	

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[9] *Ibid.*, II, 44.

[10] Stidston, p. 81, "That the use of the plur. is increasing seems to be evidenced by the very confusion and shifting which we have been unable to explain in many cases except as the proof of a divided usage in fourteenth-century England." But see Walcutt, p. 283, "Passing over the first half of the fourteenth century, we find the 'formal singular' completely established by the time of Chaucer." The word *completely* is surely too extreme.

[11] Usages adjudged incorrect are in the following lines: Kt 920, 921, 930, 951, 1719, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1727, 1729, 1730(2), 1735, 1736, 1744 (2), 3092, 3093; Mil 3361; M of L 274, 275; W of BP 241, 319, 320, 331, 332, 369 (2); W of BT 1012; Friar 1567; Sum 1763, 1785; Cl 14; Mer 1535; Sq 686; Mk 2451, 2755, 2756 (2); NP 3353; CY 1153, 1154, 1236, 1237, 1290, 1291, 1360.

[12] Figures in parentheses under "correct" refer to the number of uses tabulated as correct because of rime or reference to a deity, respectively.

	Informal	Formal	Correct	Incorrect
Pardoner	69	7	76	
Parson's Prol.	10	5	15	
Physician	12	8	20	
Prioress	28	2	30	
Reeve	27	4	31(4-0)	
Second Nun	112	36	148(1-0)	
Shipman	14	91	105	
Sir Thopas	18		18	
Total	406	253	659(5-15)	

GROUP II (one error)

Clerk	43	175	217	1(1)[13]
Friar	68	31	98	1
Merchant	81	103	183	1(1)
Miller	86	17	102	1(1)
Nun's Priest	36	79	114(1-0)	1
Squire	13	62	74	1
Wife of Bath Tale	28	49	76	1
Total	355	516	864(1-0)	7(3)

GROUP III (two to four errors)

Man of Law	112	22	132	2(2)
Monk	69	7	72	4
Summoner	55	74	127	2(2)
Total	236	103	331	8(4)

GROUP IV (more than four errors)

Canon Yeoman	40	59	92(7-0)	7(1)
Knight	161	35	178(0-8)	18(12)
Wife of Bath Prol.	88	29	110	7(3)
Total	289	123	380(7-8)	32(16)

SUMMARY

	Informal	Formal	Correct	Incorrect	Percentage of Error
Groups, I II, and III	997	872	1854(6-15)	15(7)	.81
Group IV	289	123	380(7-8)	32(16)	7.77
Total	1286	995	2234(13-23)	47(23)	

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[13] Figures in parentheses under "incorrect" refer to the number of lapses in the genitive.

Why should Chaucer, while writing the "Knight's Tale," the "Wife of Bath's Prologue," and the "Canon Yeoman's Tale," have differed so greatly from his normally correct usage of the pronouns of address? Several possibilities suggest themselves. (1) In individual instances, correct usage may have deliberately been violated because of a specific dramatic or ironic effect intended by Chaucer. While this has been taken into account throughout the tales, it is entirely possible that some of the forty-seven exceptions represent additional instances which have not been recognized by the present tabulator. (2) Scribal inaccuracies may have crept into the text. (3) These tales may have been of early composition before Chaucer had firmly fixed in his own mind the correct usage of the pronouns of address. (4) These tales may not have been written by Chaucer.

The first possibility may well apply to the "Canon Yeoman's Tale" and to the "Wife of Bath's Prologue." The canon's frequent shifting to the informal when addressing the priest may be his way of trying to inspire confidence on the part of the beguiled. And when the Wife of Bath has her Prologue characters abruptly shift to the formal, it is possible that some kind of derision or perhaps over politeness was intended. But these explanations are at best plausible conjecture, lacking in tangible proof, and both tales have therefore been placed with the faulty group. For the "Knight's Tale" not even a questionable explanation has been found; nevertheless, the possibility that usage is correct according to some dramatic or ironic effect intended by Chaucer cannot be absolutely dismissed.

Possibility (2), that scribal inaccuracies may account for some errors, may be the answer for any specific error. But it is highly improbable that wholesale scribal inaccuracies should have appeared in these three places without otherwise affecting the diverse fragments (Groups I, III, and VIII) with which the "Knight's Tale," the "Wife of Bath's Prologue," and the "Canon Yeoman's Tale" are associated. An examination of the prose tales (in fragments VII and X) corroborated the conclusion that the cause of the vast majority of the errors must be other than scribal.

In the "Tale of Melibee" (the headlink has been considered part of "Sir Thopas") Prudence addresses Melibeus 130 times in the informal without any apparent reason for shifting from the formal. Melibeus thirty-five times uses the formal to Prudence. While he may thereby be complimenting the wisdom of his wife, the frequent shifting appears not always to be justified. Thus, in 693 uses, from 130 to 165 may be judged to be in error.[14]

Since "Melibee" is apparently a close translation of a French text, it is possible that the errors in usage are merely the result of Chaucer's adherence to that text. A reading of what may have been his source (or, if not, is highly similar to that source), indicates that Chaucer's incorrect use of the pronouns of addre sscannot be blamed on the French original. Not only does the French make greater use of the informal, but passage after passage points to the conclusion that Chaucer in writing his "Melibee" treated pronouns of address with a free hand.

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[14] Pronouns appearing in quotations were excluded from this count. All but one of 125 were in the informal.

Three examples should suffice to prove this.

> La tierce chose est quant tu dis se tu te gouvernoyes par mon conseil il sembleroit que tu me donasses par dessus toy seignorie. Sauve ta grace...[15]
>
> Youre thridde reson is this: ye seyn that if ye governe yow by my conseil, it sholde seme that ye hadde yeve me the maistrie and the lordshipe over youre persone. / Sire, save youre grace,... (vv. 1081-2)
>
> Aprés, tu dois considerer tes amis et tes ennemis. Entre tes amis tudoiz considerer le plus loyal, le plus sage, le plus ancien, et le plus esprouvé en conseil; et a ceulz tu dois conseil demander. Premierement, donques, tu doiz appeller a ton conseil tes bons et tes loyaulx amis. (p. 579)
>
> And after that thou shalt considere thy freendes and thyne enemys. / And as touchynge thy freendes, thou shalt considere which of hem been moost feithful and moost wise and eldest and most approved in conseillyng; / and of hem shalt thou aske thy conseil, as the caas requireth. / I seye that first ye shul clepe to youre conseil youre freendes that been trewe. (vv. 1154-7)
>
> Aprés tu te dois garder de venin et de compagnie de moqueurs. (p. 588)
>
> Yet shaltou drede to been empoisoned, and kepe yow from the compaignye of scorneres. (v. 1329)

The above examples, which are representative, show that Chaucer frequently employs the formal where the French uses the informal. What is even more important is that Chaucer, after adhering to the informal of the French, will suddenly shift to the formal for no apparent reason.

One may well wonder why he used the particular pronouns that he did, since neither system nor source accounts for his usage. A possible conjecture is that Chaucer, at the time of translating this tale, was as yet imperfectly aware of the newer, French convention. At any rate, it is clear that "Melibee" must be grouped with the tales defective in their use of the pronouns of address.

The "Parson's Tale" superficially seems to be regular. But this long tale has only fifteen uses (all correct) of the type previously considered. Even if one were to ignore the paucity of incidence, all these uses are embodied in quotations and the correctness could possibly be that of a source.[16] The

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[15] J. Burke Severs, 'The Tale of Melibeus,' *The Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. by W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster (Chicago, Univ. Press, 1941) p. 575.

[16] Quotations from the ancients and other authorities would add thirty-seven uses, at least thirty-five of which would be correct. The reason for excluding such uses is that the singular form is almost invariably employed and would represent no more than a following of the usage in the original from which the quotation was drawn.

"Parson's Tale," however, has in superabundance one use of the pronoun of address not tabulated previously. Every once in a while in the tales Chaucer breaks the thread of the story and addresses his readers or a reader. Since many of these uses may refer not to readers but to the pilgrims collectively, it would be difficult to tabulate usage here. At any event, Chaucer could correctly address his reader in the informal as well as in the formal, so that even when the pronoun refers just to one reader no error can be proved. But it is significant that Chaucer, except in the "Parson's Tale," rarely uses the singular form as if he were addressing one reader informally. In the verse tales Chaucer uses the singular in only eleven out of 286 addresses to the reader(s) (many of the plurals may be to the pilgrims collectively).[17] While the singular cannot be proved incorrect, its use does indicate a lack of care to avoid confusion. And of the four tales employing the singular, two are the "Knight's Tale" (three instances) and the "Wife of Bath's Prologue" (two instances), both of which were previously found to be defective.

In the "Parson's Tale" Chaucer addresses the reader 188 times, 162 of which are in the singular. This not only reverses the ratio of the other tales, but shows three times as much diversion from the normal pattern. There may, however, be a reason for this reversal; and before placing this tale with the defective group it is necessary to consider that it is after all a sermon and may follow certain homiletic conventions of the period.

It is to be expected that the one who delivers or writes a sermon will frequently use the informal pronoun even when addressing a group, if he is exhorting the members of that group as individuals. An examination of some late fourteenth and early fifteenth century sermons showed that the informal was normally so used, but that the formal pronoun could occur for a variety of reasons.

Sermon 22 in *Middle English Sermons*[18] has ninety-one uses of the informal to five of the formal, but all of the latter occur when a plural antecedent is in the same sentence. Thus the writer of this sermon is consistent in his usage. And he appears to follow the principle that the plural must be used when the pronoun indisputably refers to the group as a group.

Sermon 9, on the other hand, uses the formal forty-four times and the informal four times in a sentence that may well be an indirect quotation. But there is good reason for his use of the formal. The deliverer of the sermon says, "Sirs, my lord shuld have preched here hym-selfe þat is here presente now, but he is litill dezezed."[19]

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[17] These occur: Kt 1655, 1918, 2496; W of BP 562, 711; Cl 60, 265; Manc 164 (2), 166, 167. Twelve informals in Cl 1202-1210 are excluded from the count since they are addressed to a female reader, and the familiar tone of the passage necessitates the use of the singular form. In fact, the advice given seems to be a sort of sermonette in which the convention (discussed below) is used of addressing a group as if one were speaking individually to each member of that group.

[18] *Middle English Sermons*, ed. Woodburn, O. Ross, EETS, O. S. 209 (London: OUP, 1940).

There is apparently another reason for the use of the formal. When the preacher felt himself inferior or at best equal in rank with his audience, he used the formal. An examination of *Speculum Sacerdotale*[20] confirmed this, for here the formal is normally employed for the obvious reason that these sermons are written as aids for parish priests rather than for exhorting laymen.

A review of other sermons substantiated the above and brought out an additional tendency. When the informal is used, there is still a possibility of some formal pronouns appearing particularly at the beginning and less frequently at the end of a sermon. A reasonable explanation would be that the fiction of speaking to the individual even while addressing the group was difficult to maintain during the introductory and concluding remarks which were normally not hortatory in nature.

It would appear, therefore, that homiletic writing during and somewhat after the period of Chaucer tends to follow the normal conventions of good usage with the added fiction that a group should be addressed in the singular where the nature of the writing was hortatory and the social relationship between the sermonizer and his audience permitted him to use the impolite form. That the sermons examined were relatively correct in usage should not be surprising since the problem would be simple compared with that confronting a writer of narratives.

But the "Parson's Tale," considered as homiletic writing, is strangely defective in its usage of the pronouns of address. The 162 singulars might be expected; the twenty-six plurals are disturbing. There are five slips that appear to be the result of the influence of a preceding quotation (vv. 591-592). Another error has no obvious explanation. The twenty others, however, fall into a pattern of appearing near the beginning or ending of thematic units within the tale. The majority of occurrences are with *understonde* (*now shul ye understonde* is the most frequent phrasing), although the verbs *declared*, *seen*, *woot*, *tolde* and *telle* are also used. May these twenty usages, because of their nature, be considered correct? If the answer is in the affirmative, the use of the informal must be reconsidered. For a more detailed examination of the informals yields nine *thou*'s with *understonde*!

The analyst is left with a choice: either the twenty formal pronouns are wrong, or else the nine informals must be considered as slips; the tale has perhaps twenty-six errors, but certainly no less than fifteen. The evidence of error is particularly convincing in two places when *ye understonde* and *shaltow*

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[20] *Speculum Sacerdotale*, ed. Edward H. Weatherly, EETS, O. S. 200 (London: OUP, 1936).

understonde occur in adjacent verses (317, 318 and — with a variation in the spelling — 1048, 1049, 1050). Therefore the "Parson's Tale," whether it be considered as addressed to a reader or as homiletic literature, is relatively imperfect in its use of the pronouns of address.

It is now possible to account with greater conviction for the higher percentage of errors in particular tales. A common denominator may well be that the "Tale of Melibee," the "Parson's Tale," and the "Knight's Tale" are early work (explanation 3 above).[21] There has been much dispute about the dates of composition of these tales, and this analysis of the pronouns of address adds one more argument to the claim of those who hold for an early date.[22]

On the other hand, the "Tale of Melibee" and the "Parson's Tale" depart more radically than any other from Chaucer's normal use of the pronouns of address.[23] It would be too venturesome today to suggest that these tales may not be genuine Chaucer. But the researcher who wishes to revive this contention, which once had some scholarly support, may here find a modicum of encouragement.

In conclusion, it appears that Chaucer is generally most careful about his use of pronouns of address in the *Canterbury Tales*. Seeming errors often disappear upon further analysis. And of the five tales which violate Chaucer's normally precise usage, three may well be relatively early.

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[21] This would not preclude the possibility, especially in the case of the "Knight's Tale," that the version which has come down is a later revision of early work, a revision that failed to systematically revise pronouns of address.

[22] Many years ago, in a seminar on Chaucer, Carleton Brown conjectured that an investigation of the pronouns of address might help to date some of the tales.

[23] It is interesting to note in this connection that MS. Ps omits, among others, both prose tales as well as that part of the "Canon Yeoman's Tale" which includes all faulty uses of the pronouns of address. The makers of the MS give ample evidence of being concerned with improving the text and some evidence of omitting that which has too many errors. (See J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, I 399-405).

The Earliest Plan of the "Canterbury Tales"

CHARLES A. OWEN JR.

IN an article published in 1937, 'The Man of Law's Headlink and the Prologue of the Canterbury Tales,' *Studies in Philology*, XXXIV 8-35, the late Professor Brown made a very strong case for the Man of Law's Headlink as the passage Chaucer originally intended to introduce the first story in the *Canterbury Tales*. Miss Dorothy Everett's review of the article in the *Year's Work in English Studies* (1937) showed an appreciation for the strength of his argument and closed with the words, "Some scholars will, no doubt, raise the 'strenuous objection' which Brown himself anticipates to an explanation which necessitates so new a conception of the genesis of the *Canterbury Tales*. But it is not enough merely to reject it; those who feel inclined to do so are faced with the problem of producing an equally cogent explanation." Since her comment there has been little notice of the article.[1] It has suffered from association with the efforts Professor Brown and his pupils made to find in the manuscripts evidence for successive stages in the plan of the *Canterbury Tales*, efforts which have been corrected and superseded by the work of Manly and Rickert and of Mrs. Dempster.[2] The main thesis of the 1937 article does not depend on manuscript evidence, but, as Miss Everett pointed out, on "a number of interesting connexions between different parts of the *Canterbury Tales*, some of which have not been previously noticed and all of which certainly need explanation." On calling attention to the article I hope to make some corrections of detail, to strengthen the main line of argument, and to extend somewhat further Professor Brown's recovery of this earliest plan of the *Canterbury Tales.*

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[1] W. W. Lawrence, *Chaucer and the Canterbury Tales*, New York, 1950, confines his comment to part of a long footnote (20, on p. 87), in which "with all respect to a distinguished scholar and an old friend" he "cannot think that the mirthe and solas promised in the *Prologue* were ever first exemplified by this long moralizing allegory [the Melibeus]."

[2] Brown's articles include: 'The Evolution of the Canterbury *Marriage Groups*,' *PMLA*, XLVIII, 1041-59; 'Three Notes on the Text of the *Canterbury Tales*, *MLN*, LVI, 163-175; 'Author's Revision in the *Canterbury Tales*,' *PMLA*, LVII 29-50; and his review of Manly and Rickert, *Text*, *MLN*, LV, 606-621. For his pupils see Kase, 'Observations on the Shifting Positions of Groups DE and G in MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*' in *Three Chaucer Studies*, New York 1932; Hawkins, *Place of Group F in the Canterbury Chronology*, NYU dissertation, 1937; and Schlauch, in 'The Marital Dilemma in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*,' *PMLA*, LXI, 416-30, the last four pages. For Manly and Rickert see *Text of the Canterbury Tales*, II, 475 ff., especially 475, 489. Mrs. Dempster's articles are to be found in *PMLA*, LXI, 379-415; *PMLA*, LXIII, 456-84; *MLN*, LXIII, 325-30; *PMLA*, LXIV, 1123-42; and *PMLA*, LXVIII, 1142-59. See also her controversy with A. E. Hartung, *PMLA*, LXVII, 1173-81, and for comment on her *MLN* article, Owen, *JEGP*, LIV, 104-10.

Fundamentally, Professor Brown's argument is twofold — that the Man of Law's headlink introducing the *Melibeus* was originally intended to follow the *General Prologue* (lines 1-826) and open the story-telling; that *Palamon and Arcite* did not become the *Knight's Tale* until after the 1394 revision of the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women.* On both of these points his argument can be strengthened. On the first it was essential to counter Professor Tatlock's assignment of a late date to both the *Melibeus* ("1388 at earliest") and the Man of Law's headlink ("1390 or later").[3] Tatlock's date for the latter was based on the relationship of the Man of Law's remarks on incest with the several versions of the *Confessio Amantis*. Brown showed how tenuous was the date of Gower's first version, how crowded the time sequence that resulted from Tatlock's conclusions, how likely it was that Chaucer and Gower were in each other's literary confidence at the time they were writing the *Confessio* and the *Legend*, and finally how the quarrel between them, if it ever really took place (the excision of Gower's lines of tribute to Chaucer at the end of the *Confessio* is the only evidence for it), could as well have been based on political reasons in 1387 as on literary ones in 1390. His third point is the crucial one and indeed was made by Tatlock himself in connection with the *Constance*: The friendship of Chaucer and Gower makes it extremely unlikely that Chaucer would have had to wait for completion and publication to know Gower's plans in the *Confessio.* At the same time Professor Brown's implication (see the end of his second paragraph) that the headlink preceded the *Legend of Good Women* is both difficult to accept and not really necessary to his main thesis. The Man of Law's reference to the *Legend* suggests something already in existence, not a prospectus:

> "Whoso that wole his large volume seke
> Cleped the Seintes Legende of Cupide,
> Ther may he seen... (B, 62)

Some of the Man of Law's inaccuracies to which Brown points result from Chaucer's not having finished what he planned. The others should not surprise the reader who remembers the character described in the *General Prologue* and catches the overtones of condescension, complacency, and hypocrisy in the Man of Law's comments on literature (see W. L. Sullivan, *MLN*, LXVIII 1-8). What evidence there is points to a close association in time between the headlink and the *Legend*, and to the priority of the latter.

Professor Brown also endeavored to show that the *Melibeus* had preceded *Troilus and Criseyde*, citing the opinion of earlier scholars and pointing out that one of the proverbial expressions common to the two works was, in the *Melibeus*, a translation from the French source. Tatlock had based his opinion of a later date for the *Melibeus* in part on the principle that a metrical line appearing in both a poem and a prose work (a line from *Palamon and Arcite* and one from *Troilus and Criseyde* occur also in the *Melibeus*) must have first appeared in the poem. Whatever validity this principle might have generally could hardly survive, in these specific instances, Baum's study of 'Chaucer's Metrical Prose' (*JEGP*, XLV 38-42), showing how often Chaucer fell into iambic pentameter, sometimes for several lines at a time, in translating *Melibeus*. Neither argument is conclusive, and we are left with two other evidences for dating *Melibeus*. Chaucer did leave out the words, "dolente est la terre qui a enfant à seigneur," apparently out of deference for Richard II, who had succeeded to the throne at the age of ten in 1377. The *Melibeus* then is definitely post-1377 and presumably pre-1388 when Richard came of age. The other evidence, which Tatlock brought up but which Brown did not discuss, is Chaucer's failure to have Alceste cite the *Melibeus* in her defense of the poet against the God of Love (*Legend of Good Women*, F 417-430). The omission from a list that included both less considerable and far less appropriate of Chaucer's works signified to Tatlock that the *Melibeus* had not yet been written. If we accept Tatlock's conclusion, the most likely date for the *Melibeus* would become precisely the one most favorable to Brown's thesis,namely the beginning of the Canterbury period, 1386 or 1387.

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[3] *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Society, 1907. For the date of the headlink, see 172-5. For the *Melibeus*, 188-97.

One of the works mentioned in the early version of the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* is *Palamon and Arcite*. Professor Brown pointed out that in all probability it was still a separate work when Chaucer revised the *Prologue to the Legend* in or after 1394 and retained the lines referring to it. But the case is a stronger one than he indicated. For the mention of *Palamon and Arcite* occurs in a single couplet, lines 407 f, which could have been omitted without changing a single word of the context, and the couplet occurs in a passage where Chaucer did make important alterations including the insertion of the couplet (lines 413 f.) on the "Wreched Engendrynge." For at least eight years then after Chaucer started to work on the *Canterbury Tales*, the *Knight's Tale* in all probability did not stand as the first of the series. This probability gives added strength to the evidence offered that the Man of Law originally started the story-telling — to such evidence as the fact that the date is mentioned in the headlink and nowhere else and the likelihood that this would most naturally occur on the first day; as the sententia on idleness closely adapted from the *Roman de la Rose*, the idleness motif being a conventional opening for a long work; as the mention of other works by the same author, more appropriate at the beginning or the end; as the relatively undeveloped personality of the Host, his formality and his learned way of reckoning the hour; as the paralleling of structure and even language in the headlink with the final lines of the *General Prologue.* The two sides of Brown's argument thus strenghten each other. A late date for the adaptation of *Palamon and Arcite* as the *Knight's Tale* makes immeasurably stronger the likelihood that the Man of Law was once the first storyteller.

Two matters of detail in Professor Brown's article now come up, and they have important consequences. In discussing the Host's calculation of the time Brown makes the statement, "But nowhere else does the Host exhibit such expert knowledge as to the course of the heavenly bodies" (p. 25). I am not so sure. In the first lines of the *Parson's Prologue* we read:

> By that the Maunciple (?) hadde his tale al ended,
> The sonne fro the south lyne was descended
> So lowe that he nas nat, to my sighte,
> Degrees nyne and twenty as in highte.
> Foure of the clokke it was tho, as I guesse,
> For elevene foot, or litel moore or lesse,
> My shadwe was at thilke tyme, as there,
> Of swiche feet as my lengthe parted were
> In sixe feet equal of proporcioun.
> Therwith the moones exaltacioun,
> I meene Libra, alwey gan ascende,
> As we were entryng at a thropes ende;
> For which oure Hoost, as he was wont to gye,
> As in this caas, oure joly compaignye,
> Seyde in this wise:... (I, 15)

Is the phrase "for which" intended to associate the Host with Chaucer as having made the same calculations for himself? Whatever the answer, the passage certainly reminds us of the opening of the Man of Law's headlink as the only other passage where time is told for the pilgrims in this learned way (Chauntecleer of course does it within a tale [B 4377 ff], but Chaucer is poking fun at his pedantry). Two other points of relationship, faint in themselves but the stronger for their association, appear as we read further in the *Parson's Prologue.* Clearly this passage will introduce the final tale of the pilgrimage (as the Man of Law's headlink was written to introduce the first?). And the Parson, like the Man of Law, prepares us for a tale in prose. The most important point of relationship, however, is a dramatic one, played out to some extent in pronouns but to an even greater extent in a long and unfriendly silence. This time the relationship is with the Man of Laws epilogue (perhaps cancelled by Chaucer) where we witness the first encounter between Host and Parson. There the Host, calling on the Parson in a tone of flattering condescension, with the familiar « thi » balancing his praise of learning, makes use of two oaths, "for Goddes bones" and "by Goddes dignitee." The Parson disdains to speak to him directly —

> "*Benedicite!*
> What eyleth the man, so synfully to swere?" (B, 1171)

— and draws down on his head the charge of Lollardry and the intervention of another pilgrim, who shoulders him out of his turn to tell a tale. Then follows the long silence, during which the Host spares no oaths and the Parson makes no further comment, until, compelled by his own rules and the fact that no other pilgrim is left, the Host turns to the Parson:

> "Sire preest," quod he, "artow a vicary?
> Or arte a person? sey sooth, by thy fey!
> Be what thou be, ne breke thou nat oure pley;
> For every man, save thou, hath toold his tale.
> Unbokele, and shewe us what is in thy male;
> For trewely, me thynketh by thy cheere
> Thou sholdest knytte up wel a greet mateere.
> Telle us a fable anon, for cokkes bones!" (I, 29)

There is a symphony of effect in these lines. Suffice it to note the familiar "thou" throughout; the minor climax of implication in "sey sooth," as if the parson might not; the reference to his silence, "unbokele"; and the major climax consisting of the fable for the "greet mateere" and the innocuous "cokkes bones" for the crashing oath the Parson (and we) are waiting for. This time the Parson gives him the answer direct and, as Chaucer puts it, "al atones"

> "Thou getest fable noon ytoold for me." (I, 31)

But this is the only "thou." By six lines, a Bible reference, and a proverb later, the Parson has turned to the pilgrims and is addressing his proposal to them ("...yow...ye...yow..."). It is the pilgrims that accede and bid the Host say

> That alle we to telle his tale hym preye (I, 66)

And the Host realizing that the occasion has a certain solemnity, and perhaps appreciating too the quality of his critic, addresses him respectfully for the first time ("...yow...youre...yow..."), with a blessing replacing the customary oath.[4]

That Chaucer conceived this quarrel and executed it at once, before he had determined what order the tales between were to fall in, receives some slight confirmation from the confusion about the pilgrim who had just finished his story in line 1 of the *Parsons' Prologue*. If Chaucer had left the line blank, or if he had changed his mind several times, we might expect just such confusion.

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[4] The first recognition of this dramatic connection between the Man of Law's endlink and the *Parson's Prologue* appeared in my article on *The Plan of the Canterbury Pilgrimage, PMLA*, LXVI (1951) 824 f. See also for an independent and slightly different account, Lumansky, *Of Sondry Folk*, Austin 1955, 239-45. Lumiansky's primary concern is with the suitability of the "Parson's Tale" to the teller. Though I do not agree with his idea that the "Parson's Tale" is the revenge of the Parson "for the treatment he has received from Harry Bailly," I find the rest of his discussion of the Host-Parson relationship illuminating.

In any event the *Manciple's Tale* which we have in Fragment H could not have directly preceded it for reasons of time and especially of space.[5] One other thing to note is that the quarrel gives a dramatic motivation and so an organic quality to an abstract pattern, the prose tale at beginning and end.

The connections between the framework for the *Man of Law's Tale* and the *Parson's Prologue* call attention to another matter of detail in Professor Brown's article that needs correction; namely his confidence that the General Prologue to line 826 "belongs to a very early stage, if indeed it was not written earlier than any of the individual Tales — those, at least, which were originally designed for the Canterbury collection" (p. 27). There can be little doubt that some of the portraits, even that the general conception of a gallery of portraits as the beginning of the work, belong to this "very early stage." At the same time the *Prologue* was never finished. Two of the pilgrims who tell stories are presented only as appendages of the Prioress in the lines

> Another Nonne with hire hadde she,
> That was hire Chapeleyne, and preestes thre. (A, 164)

Brown himself notes the likelihood that the Squire was inserted between Knight and Yeoman.[6] And at another point the *Prologue* reads suspiciously like a reminder in verse of portraits still to be written; in this case portraits that Chaucer found the time and inspiration to compose:

> Ther was also a Reve and a Millere,
> A Somnour and a Pardoner also,
> A Maunciple, and myself, ther were namo. (A, 544)

Apparently the *General Prologue* grew with the work, some of the portraits preceding the tales of the pilgrims, others being composed after the tales were assigned to pilgrims, and finally, in at least one case, the Knight, both tale and portrait being composed before the happy inspiration that brought them into conjunction. The point is an important one because it saves Brown's thesis from an inconsistency.

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[5] Wherever the village of Bobbe-up-and-downe was, the Blee forest was close to Canterbury, more than fifty miles from the end of their journey and the end of the Host's control over the pilgrims referred to in the *Parson's Prologue.* The implication of a morning hour for the *Manciple's Prologue* leaves a gap of some hours to the "foure of the Clokke in *Parson's Prologue.* But even more inconsistent is the situation in the two Prologues. In the *Manciple's Prologue* the Manciple is allowed to substitute for the drunken Cook, but there is no reference to any necessity for haste or to the approaching end of the story-telling. In the *Parson's Prologue* only the Parson is left to tell a tale. All the others (including, we have a right to presume. the Cook) have told their tales, the Host explicitly says. The two prologues can thus not possibly introduce successive tales and form a group. For a full discussion on the crux in line 1 of the *Parson's Prologue*, see Dempster, *PMLA*, LXIV, 1129 f, note 22 ;

[6] 'Chaucer's Squire and the number of the Canterbury Pilgrims,' *MLN*, XLIX, 216 ff.

In discussing the plan for four tales from each pilgrim (*Prologue*, 791-794) Brown says, "But it is only in the General Prologue that this plan is set forth and had Chaucer written this at a late stage in his work he would hardly have announced so ambitious a program on a scale contrasting sharply with his actual performance." According to Brown's theory it was precisely at a late stage in his work that Chaucer has the Cook put off telling his story against the Host:

> "But nathelees I wol nat telle it yit
> But ere we parte, ywis, thou shalt be quit." (A, 4362)

Clearly the *Cook's Prologue* belongs to the same general plan as lines 791-794 of the *Prologue*, in contrast to the plan of a single tale from each pilgrim which the Host refers to as all but completed in the *Parson's Prologue* and which the Host implies as the plan when he offers Chaucer and the Monk an opportunity to tell another tale in Fragment B² (put together, according to Mrs. Dempster, soon after 1394).[7] The difficulty disappears if we see the plan in the Prologue as an expansion of the design for the whole work, undertaken when Chaucer incorporated *Palamon and Arcite* as the *Knight's Tale* and composed the other tales of Fragment A. What Brown appropriately calls an "ambitious program" contrasts with Chaucer's actual performance only for those with hindsight, not for the poet who could hardly know when he made the change that he would not live to complete his design.

The earliest plan of the Canterbury Tales, then, called for the following order: *Prologue* (with the Host suggesting a scheme of a single tale for each pilgrim) — Man of Law's headlink (the late start of the storytelling consistent with the smaller plan of thirty tales altogether) — *Melibeus* — Man of Law's endlink (where the ground is prepared for the Parson "to enden in som vertuous sentence" with a tale in prose to balance the opening *Melibeus*) ... *Parson's Prologue*. What was to fill the gap between the two tales in prose? What was to follow the Man of Law's endlink? The answer is to be found, I think, not in the order of the "large majority of the manuscripts," as Professor Brown surmised (p. 33), but in the language and the textual evidence of the Man of Law's endlink, as developed by Professors Jones (*JEGP*, XXIV 522 ff) and Pratt (*PMLA*, LXVI 1155-1157). They put forward the Wife of Bath as the pilgrim who usurps the Parson's turn, inspired not so much by the imputed Lollardry of the Parson as by the threat of a "predicacioun" to follow the moralistic *Melibeus:*

> "And therfore, Hoost, I warne thee biforn,
> My joly body schal a tale telle
> And I schal clynken you so mery a belle
> That I schal waken al this compaignie." (B, 1187)

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[7] 'A Period in the Development of the *Canterbury Tales* Marriage Group and of Blocks B² and C,' *PMLA*, LXVIII, 1142-59.

The *Shipman's Tale*, long recognized as written for Dame Alys, not only fulfills this description but repeats the unusual expression "my joly body" in the final speech of the Wife's surrogate, the "heroine" of the tale. Professor Pratt, in addition to showing how the textual evidence of the line in the endlink naming the pilgrim supports this theory, gives the following significant warning, "In rereading the ML Endlink with the Wife in mind as interrupter, we should note that her character as conceived by Chaucer at this early stage, was probably far less complex than we find her now. The original assignment to her of the tale of the merchant's wife and the monk, suggest a teller as boisterous, to be sure, as the woman of the present *Wife of Bath's Prologue and Tale*, but far less subtle and appealing." What Pratt and Jones did not notice and what gives confirmation and extension at once to their theory of the Wife of Bath as the original interrupter of the Parson is the perfect juncture her Prologue makes with the final lines of the Man of Law's endlink. After the threat to wake up the company, the Wife (?) goes on,

"But it schal not ben of philosophie,
Ne phislyas, ne termes queinte of lawe.
Ther is but litel Latyn in my mawe! B 1190
Experience, though noon auctoritee D 1
Were in this world, is right ynogh for me,
To speke of wo that is in mariage;
For lordynges, sith I twelve yeer was of age,
Thonked be God that is eterne on lyve,
Housbondes at chirche dore I have had fyve.... (D 6)

The *Wife of Bath's Prologue* is the one occasion in the *Canterbury Tales* where a pilgrim talks of himself, the other pilgrims or the incidents of the journey (as opposed to the *Physician's Tale* and the *Second Nun's Prologue*) without being identified in the verse. This exception, if our conjecture is correct, did not always exist, but was created when Chaucer detached the Wife from what he must have decided was a premature position, to enlarge her Prologue, make her personality more complex, and use her influence as motivation in the richest sequence of the *Canterbury Tales*. The extent of the early Prologue when it introduced the *Shipman's Tale* is perhaps marked by the line (193)

"Now, sires, now wol I telle forth my tale."

Only after this line does the influence of Deschamps' *Miroir de Mariage* make itself felt along with Theophrastus and Walter Map. The early lines not only draw inspiration from a much more limited source material (St. Jerome and the Bible), but also project the simpler conception of the Wife of Bath's character, already noted in Pratt's comment on the speech in the endlink.[8] The concern for orthodoxy which serves as pretext for the interrupter of the endlink goes to a ludicrous extreme in the Wife's struggle with the texts on marriage in the early part of the *Prologue* and finds a reflection even in occasional passages of the *Shipman's Tale* (see, for instance, B 1281, 1368 f, 1413, 1441).

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[8] Jones advanced this theory that the early Prologue extended to line 193, developing at greater length the evidence from source material and the difference in thematic emphasis

This reconstruction of the original opening sequence of tales gives an additional parallel to Fragment A, to add to the list Professor Brown drew up as evidence that the end of Fragment A superseded the Man of Law's headlink. The pattern of a startling contrast between the opening tales, the *Knight's Tale* and the *Miller's Tale*, was already present in the original sequence. Even the terms of the contrast are similar. For both Prudence as wife and Palamon and Arcite as lovers represent ideals of conduct; while the merchant's wife in the *Shipman's Tale* and Nicholas and Absalon in the *Miller's* are concerned only with a hedonistic self-gratification. That the original contrast involved women is also suggestive. For the other tales most commonly ascribed to this early period, 1387 to about 1391, — the *Physician's Tale* (with its reference to the court scandal of 1386), the *Clerk's Tale* (probably introduced by the formal prologue it still retains, but with the Wife of Bath stanza and the Clerk's song still to be composed), the *Constance*, and the *Squire's Tale*, — all center around women rather than men. Only the *Manciple's Tale* and the *Prioress's Tale* break the pattern and even in these tales Phoebus's wife and the little clergeoun's mother play more prominent roles than women are given in such later works as the *Merchant's Tale* and the *Pardoner's Tale.* Beginning with the Criseyde who usurps attention from the central character of the *Troilus*, Chaucer's imagination seems to have been drawn to the depiction of women. Despite the apparent boredom with the repetitive pattern in the *Legend of Good Women*, he made little use of the freedom which the *Canterbury Tales* gave him. With only two exceptions he creates for us a succession of painfully virtuous women. Constance, Virginia, and Canace cultivate austerity, while the infallible Prudence and the patient Griselda show the lengths to which idealism could carry the medieval mind. But the period of intense interest in women began in Criseyde and apparently found its final release in the full development of the Wife of Bath. From the expansion of her Prologue to the end of his life Chaucer's imagination seems to have entertained no further visions of austerely virtuous women.

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in the two parts of the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* (see the *JEGP* article, especially 519 f.). But he did not see the juncture of the Prologue with the endlink; in fact he assumed that the endlink was originally separated from the *Melibeus* by part of the present *Monk's Prologue* and Fragment C (*Physician's Tale* and *Pardoner's Prologue and Tale*) and that it was separated from the *Wife of Bath's Prologue* by a Parson's "predicacioun," since cancelled.

Thomistic Common Nature and Platonic Idea

JOSEPH OWENS, C. SS. R.

I. Idea and Universal

ACCORDING to the interpretation given it by St Thomas Aquinas, the Platonic doctrine of Ideas imposes the human mode of intellection upon reality itself. Plato had wrongly concluded that the objects of human intellection should have the same mode of being in reality as they have in men's understanding of the real. In human intellection these objects are universal and necessary. They are immaterial and immobile. As they exist in reality, therefore, they should have the same immateriality and the same immobility, the same universality and the same necessity:

> Videtur autem in hoc Plato deviasse a veritate, quia, cum aestimaret omnem cognitionem per modum alicuius similitudinis esse, credidit quod forma cogniti ex necessitate sit in cognoscente eodem modo quo est in cognito. Consideravit autem quod forma rei intellectae est in intellectu universaliter et immaterialiter et immobiliter: quod ex ipsa operatione intellectus apparet, qui intelligit universaliter et per modum necessitatis cuiusdam;...[1]

The form according to which the objects of intellection are considered to be modeled is the form of the thing in the universal status given it by the intellect — *in intellectu universaliter.* Universality has its source in the activity of the human intellect. The Platonic Ideas, however, are regarded as set up in themselves according to this mode of universality, without having to be abstracted by human intellection:

> Plato vero, attendens solum immaterialitatem intellectus humani, non autem ad hoc quod est corpori quodammodo unitus, posuit obiectum intellectus ideas separatas ; et quod intelligimus, non quidem abstrahendo, sed magis abstracta participando, ut supra dictum est (*ST*, I, 85, 1c ; ed. Leonine).

The status of universality, which in truth is the work of the human intellect, is accordingly attributed to the Platonic Ideas prior to any such activity on the part of the mind. The Idea in itself is regarded as a hypostatized universal. It has been represented in that way long before in the Aristotelian polemic against the Ideas. The Platonic Forms, according to Aristotle, could not be substances (*ousiai*) because no universal is a substance,[2] when considered from a metaphysical viewpoint. St Thomas is following the Stagirite literally enough in this interpretation:

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[1] *ST*, I, 84, 1c; ed. Leonine. Cf. I, 84, 2c; *In Boeth. de Trin.*, V, 3c, (ed. Wyser), p. 41. 4-7.

> Et sic posuerunt *Platonici* animal et hominem in sua universalitate esse substantias. Quod *Aristoteles* in hoc capitulo intendit reprobare, ostendens, quod animal commune vel homo communis non est aliqua substantia in rerum natura. Sed hanc communitatem habet forma animalis vel hominis secundum quod est in intellectu, qui unam formam accipit ut multis communem, inquantum abstrahit eam ab omnibus individuantibus (*In VII Metaph.*, lect. 13 ; ed. Cathala-Spiazzi, nos. 1570-1571).

Things really exist as individuals. In the sensible world they are material and contingent and mobile. Through abstraction the human intellect renders them objects that are universal and necessary, immaterial and immobile. The mistake of Plato was caused by an erroneous interpretation of the norm that the truth of cognition requires the real object to be like the object as known. The object as known by the human intellect has indeed the characteristics of universality and necessity, immateriality and immobility; but these characteristics, in their actually constituted nature, come from the activity of the intellect. They are not present as such in the things of the real sensible world. To place them outside the intellect as the basis of all reality is therefore to impose the procedure of the human intellect upon the structure of reality itself:

> Patet autem diligenter intuenti rationes Platonis, quod ex hoc in sua positione erravit, quia credidit, quod modus rei intellectae in suo esse sit sicut modus intelligendi rem ipsam... Hoc autem non est necessarium. Nam intellectus etsi intelligat res per hoc, quod similis est eis quantum ad speciem intelligibilem, per quam fit in actu; non tamen oportet quod modo illo sit species illa in intellectu quo in re intellecta: nam omne quod est in aliquo est per modum eius in quo est (*In I Metaph.*, lect. 10, no. 158).

The likeness between real object and object as known, accordingly, does not require that the thing have the same mode of being in reality as it has in human intellection. Rather, the mode depends upon that in which the object finds itself. If it is in real matter, naturally it will have the conditions that follow upon matter — individuality, contingence, mobility. When it exists in the intellect, it will have the conditions that follow upon intellection — universality, necessity, immobility, immateriality. The likeness between real thing and thing as known remains unimpaired. Only the mode of being differs. The truth of cognition is in no way affected. Abstraction here, just as in the case of mathematical abstraction, does not involve any deception:

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[2] *Metaph.*, Z 14-16, 1039a24-1041a5; esp. 16, 1040b26-28. From the logical viewpoint of the *Categories*, on the other hand, the species and the genera in the first category are substances, though "secondary substances" (*Cat.*, 5, 2a14-9).

> Et nihil differt quantum ad veritatem considerationis, utrum sic vel sic considerentur. Quamvis enim non sint abstracta secundum esse, non tamen mathematici abstrahentes ea secundum intellectum, mentiuntur: quia non asserunt ea esse extra materiam sensibilem... (*In II Phys.*, lect. 3, ed. Leonine, no. 5).

This is applied expressly to the Platonic Ideas:

> ... excludit ex praedictis errorem Platonis. Quia enim latebat eum quomodo intellectus vere posset abstrahere ea quae non sunt abstracta secundum esse, posuit omnia quae sunt abstracta secundum intellectum esse abstracta secundum rem. ... posuit ipsas res naturales abstractas, propter hoc quod naturalis scientia est de universalibus et non de singularibus. Unde posuit hominem esse separatum, et equum et lapidem et alia huiusmodi; quae quidem separata dicebat esse ideas:... (*Ibid.*, no. 6).

All that the intellect knows, St Thomas urges, is there in reality in the thing. The modes of being, on the other hand, follow respectively from the nature of the intellect and the nature of the thing. The nature of a sensible thing is material; so in its real existence it has a material, and therefore singular and contingent, mode of being. The nature of the intellect is immaterial; so when that same sensible thing exists in the intellect, it has an immaterial mode of being, a mode that is universal, necessary, and immobile. This difference in mode does not at all affect the identity of the object. It is the same thing no matter which of the two modes it may assume. Far from requiring that the mode in intellection should be the mode in reality, the very difference between the nature of intelligence and the nature of material reality demands a different mode of being for the object in each case. The Platonic ground for the existence of Ideas, therefore, should rather give rise to the opposite conclusion. The nature of corporeal matter is different from the nature of the intellect, and so occasions a different mode of being:

> Et ideo ex natura intellectus, quae est alia a natura rei intellectae, necessarium est quod alius sit modus intelligendi quo intellectus intelligit, et alius sit modus essendi quo res existit. Licet enim id in re esse oporteat quod intellectus intelligit, non tamen eodem modo. Unde quamvis intellectus intelligat mathematica non cointelligendo sensibilia, et universalia praeter particularia, non tamen oportet quod mathematica sint praeter sensibilia, et universalia praeter particularia (*In I Metaph.*, lect. 10, no. 158).

The mode of being that sensible things have in reality, then, cannot be universal, necessary, immaterial, or immobile. Sensible natures cannot exist in reality in any universal or necessary guise. They cannot be Platonic Ideas.

Such texts leave no doubt about St Thomas' understanding of the Platonic Form. The Idea was a wrongly hypostatized universal. The universal occurs only in the human mode of understanding. It cannot belong to the object in reality. To require it in the basis of reality is to fashion reality after the model of human intellection. Greek philosophy in general did leave itself open to interpretation along such lines. From its earliest period it tended to project internal experience upon reality itself. Thales and the other Milesians had endeavored to think out the cosmos in terms of the vital growth experienced within themselves. Heraclitus had explained it in function of the tensions encountered in moral conduct. Parmenides had conceived all things as united and present to one another just as they are united in the intellect's one common conception of being (*Fr.* 4; Diels-Kranz, 28B). Because the mind can make present to itself everything that has the aspect of being, the same solidarity was imposed by Parmenides upon real being, with the result that being closes in upon being and makes one continuous whole (*Fr.* 8.24-25). For Plotinus the world of being was the world of intelligence. The truly real was identified with the object in the intelligence. The Platonic Ideas became intelligibles that existed only within the intelligence, and not at all outside it (*Enneads*, V, 5, 1-2). The journey of the soul through the intelligibles was its journey through the real world. In this Neoplatonic cast was the doctrine of the Ideas known to St Augustine[3] and to the Pseudo-Areopagite, Dionysius.[4] In this fashion it was handed down to the middle ages. Such was the traditional Platonism. Against this background it had been reconstructed for mediaeval students by William of Auvergne. William frankly acknowledged that the reasons or proofs of Plato himself for the doctrine had not been handed down. But he had no hesitation in supplying them. He lays down the reasons that Plato *seems* to have had, or *could have had*, for developing the teaching on the Ideas. Upon these *rationes*, thought out naturally in the light of the Aristotelian polemic against the Platonic Forms, the world of Ideas was reconstructed as a *mundus universalium*, a world of universals.[5] There need be little wonder, then, at St Thomas' statement (*In I Metaph.*, lect. 10, no. 158) that a diligent examination of the

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[3] For St Augustine himself the Platonic Ideas were located in the divine intellect: "Quod si hae rerum omnium creandarum creatarumve rationes in divina mente continentur, neque in divina mente quidquam nisi aeternum atque incommutabile potest esse; atque has rerum rationes principales appellat ideas Plato" (*De Div. Quaest., LXXXIII*, 46, 2; *PL*, XL, 30). In the eyes of St Thomas, this was following Plato as far as Christian belief permitted: "Augustinus autem Platonem secutus quantum fides catholica patiebatur, non posuit species rerum per se subsistentes; sed loco earum posuit rationes rerum in mente divina,..." (*De Spir. Creat.*, 10, ad 8m; ed. Mandonnet, *Quaest. Disp.* III, 83b).

[4] See *De Div. Nom.*, V, 5-8; *PG*, III, 820-4.

[5] "... in quo quae fuerunt rationes, vel probationes, Platonis non pervenit ad me. Ponam igitur rationes, quas vel habuisse videtur, vel habere potuisset. Ad hoc dico igitur... debet intellectus multo fortius ponere mundum intelligibilium, hic autem est mundus universalium, sive specierum." *De Universo*, Ia-IIae, c. 14; ed. Venice (1591) II, 774b.

rationes of Plato shows he believed the mode of real being was like the mode of intellection. In such a conception of Platonism the Ideas could hardly appear in any other way than as hypostatized universals, and as an attempt to impose the procedure of the human intellect upon the structure of the real world.

II. Plato's Ideas

It is well-known, however, that with only a few exceptions[6] the works of Plato were not available in the Scholastic circles of St Thomas' day. There was not sufficient occasion to contrast the traditional presentation of Platonism with embarrassing texts from the *Dialogues*. The *Parmenides*, in a section soon to be translated by William of Moerbeke,[7] stated clearly that the Forms were not thoughts produced by thinking and could not have the status of thoughts (*Prm.*, 132 B). The Ideas were sharply distinguished from the work of human intellection. Their relation to the human intellect, in fact, was represented as extremely difficult if not impossible to explain. Any relation to intellect in the Ideas would have to be to an intellect on a higher level than that of man. Knowledge in men should have its relation only to the truth that exists in the world in which men live, and not to the truth in the world of the Ideas. The mode of being attributed to the Ideas was so remote and so different from the mode of being found in the human intellect, that the difficulty was to explain how any Forms can be known by men (*Prm.*, 134 AB). It is a difficulty to which Plato gives no answer. But the very position of the problem puts the whole question of Ideas and human intellect upon a different basis from what St. Thomas took for granted. The problem is to establish any relation at all between human intellection and the Ideas. The nature of the Ideas is viewed as utterly different from the nature of the human intellect. The difference is so great that no way of bringing them into relation with each other seems possible.

How, then, can one interpret Plato as modeling the Ideas upon the way in which the human intellect functions? Plato seems rather to have attributed to the Ideas a mode of being that shows *prima facie* no relation at all to human intellection. Far from having the same mode of being as the product of human thinking, the Platonic Ideas seem to have a mode so superior that it resists the best efforts to see a resemblance between the two. Is there any possibility, then, of bringing the Ideas as described in Plato's own text into line with the Thomistic universal?

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[6] The *Meno*, the *Phaedo*, and part of the *Timaeus*. See Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages* (London 1939) pp. 26-8; 51.

[7] See Martin Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* (Munich 1926-1956) II, 417-418 *Guglielmo di Moerbeke, O.P., il Traduttore delle Opere di Aristotele* (Rome 1946) pp. 151-3. On the earlier mediaeval knowledge of the *Parmenides*, see R. Klibansky, "Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* I (1943) 281-4.

First, what is the real status of the Idea for Plato? This is a perennial question. It has many aspects. These require long and detailed consideration that offers little hope of agreement among interpreters. For the immediate purposes of the present study, however, the question may be narrowed to limits sufficiently concise for a brief but pertinent treatment. The Thomistic interpretation of the Ideas, as has just been seen, was outlined in a contrast between individuality and universality, contingence and necessity. Against a somewhat similar background, at least in general lines, are the Ideas introduced in the earlier dialogues of Plato. Socrates is represented as seeking to learn *what* the different virtues *are*. He is not interested in having particular instances of each virtue pointed out to him. He wants to know what courage is, what piety is, what friendship is, what temperance is, what beauty is, and so on. He is investigating, not the individual variations, but the aspect that remains the *same* in all particular occurrences of bravery or of quickness (*La.*, 192AB). The term "universal" had not as yet been coined;[8] but the contrast between singular instance on the one hand and on the other the common characteristic that brings all such singular instances under one common *eidos* or class, is unmistakable.

Plato, then, is inquiring about the aspect (*idea*) that always remains the *same* in every particular action that, for instance, is called holy (*Euthphr.*, 5D). He is concerned with the necessary characteristic of holiness, in contrast to its particular instances: "Recall, then, that I did not ask you to show me one or two of the many instances of holiness, but that Form (*eidos*) itself by which all things holy are holy. For you said somewhere that by one feature (*idea*) things unholy are unholy, and holy things holy" (*Euthphr.*, 6D). The Platonic Idea, then, is the feature just in itself, regardless of any contingent additions. The Form of beauty, for example, is the beautiful itself (*Hp. Ma.*, 286D-304D). Such a Form will be encountered wherever a number of individuals have the same common name (*Rep.*, X, 596 AB).

Plato's description of the Form or Idea, accordingly, shows clearly enough that he means by it the content of a thing's definition. It is *what* the thing *is*, in the sense of what something is in itself regardless of particular instances or contingent accretions. It is therefore what is common to all the singulars that come within its embrace. But exactly what relation has the Idea to the particular instance? As a common characteristic it certainly has to be *in* the singulars themselves. It is what is seen *in* them. An immanent status is ascribed to the Ideas from the earliest to the latest dialogues. But an Idea also involves necessity in its very nature. It cannot change or perish. It itself is eternal, while its contingent instances come and go. It is clearly something over and above all its individual occurrences.[9] It is their abiding foundation and prototype. First it itself has to be; and then it can be participated by the individuals.[10] All virtuous actions, in order to be virtuous, have to be performed according to the already existent Idea of the virtue as their model. The whole sensible universe, moreover, is fashioned after the model of the eternally existent Ideas (*Ti.*, 29A-30D). The Ideas, consequently, transcend the particular instances. They have their being independently of the individuals that participate them. They exist as such in reality.[11] According to their presentation in the Platonic *Dialogues* they are transcendent as well as immanent.

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[8] The basis for the term, however, may be seen at *Meno* 77A6.

Plato is well aware that the Ideas require both immanence and transcendence. He is also fully aware of the difficulties involved in this double aspect. The Form exists in itself, yet is present in all its individual instances by participation (*Phd.*, 100B-102B). Yet how? The Form is one in itself, yet many in its instances. How can it be one and many at the same time? It has to be whole and entire in each individual instance, and yet has to remain one and the same in itself, without any separation from itself. How? Not like a sail covering many people, for only a part of the sail is present over each individual. The whole Form has to be present in each of its instances (*Prm.*, 131BC). As yet no throughgoing doctrine of predication had been developed. But the requirement that the whole form be present in each individual makes the meaning clear enough. The presence and identity of Form with individual has to be sufficient for what was later known as predication. It has to allow the assertion that this particular action is brave, is temperate. The nature of bravery or temperance, not just part of that nature, has to be found in each action so characterized. The full nature of "shuttle" has to be found in each of the particular instances. The immanence required by the Idea, then, is the type of immanence that makes predication possible — complete identity in reality with the individual instance. The "whole Form" (*Prm.*, 131A) has to be in each particular.

Ideas, accordingly, have to be both one and many at the same time. The Idea has to remain one in itself, while existing whole and entire in many separate individuals. No answer is found by Plato for this difficulty. Yet neither of the alternatives is ever dropped. Both are required by the Idea. The difficulty is faced again in the *Philebus*. The Ideas, now characterized as monads on account of their indivisibility, nevertheless are found divided in innumerable instances (*Phlb.*, 15B-16E). The Idea still has to be both one and many at the same time. So in one of the very latest dialogues, the *Philebus*, the objection continues to stand, and again is given no answer. Both aspects, immanence and transcendence, are maintained. Neither is eliminated because of the other. The last book of the *Laws* similarly continues to represent the Ideas or Forms as transcendent models of conduct (*Lg.*, XII, 965B-966A) and as immanent class features (963C).

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[9] On the transcendance of the Ideas as operative even in the *Euthyphro*, see W. Gerson Rabinowitz, "Platonic Piety: An Essay Toward the Solution of an Enigma," *Phronesis* III (1958) 117-20.

[10] The doctrine of participation is mentioned as early as the *Symposium* (211B). The notion had been exploited by Anaxagoras (*Fr.* 6, 11, 12; DK, 59B), and may well have its origin in a denial of participation by Parmenides (*Fr.* 9; DK, 28B). On the various Platonic expressions for the relation of Idea to particular, see W. D. Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas* (Oxford 1951) pp. 228-230.

[11] *Phd.* 103B; *Prm.*, 132D; *Ti.*, 51B-52A.

For Plato, consequently, the Idea considered from the standpoint of the present problem is the common and necessary content of a thing's definition. It is the thing just in itself, without any contingent additions. It is both one and many, both immanent and transcendent. It is found whole and entire in each of its individual instances. Yet it remains always one and indivisible in itself.

III. The Thomistic Common Nature

To what does this notion of Plato correspond in the doctrine of St Thomas Aquinas? To the universal? Hardly. The universal for St Thomas has a type of community that makes it strictly one in itself, and does not allow it to be one and many at the same time. The universal is found only in the intellect, never in the sensible thing that is known by its means (*De Ente*, c. III; pp. 26. 11-29.1). The universal, moreover, is not prior to the sensible thing. It is in fact subsequent to its particular instances (*Quodl.*, VIII, 1c). The universal, for St Thomas,[12] can never be predicated of the individual thing; the Platonic Idea, on the contrary, expresses *what* the thing is and in St Thomas' terminology would be what is predicated of the thing.

On all these points, then, the Thomistic universal differs profoundly from the Platonic Idea. The Thomistic universal does not become many in its relations with the particular instances, while the Platonic Idea does. The

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[12] *De Ente*, c. III; pp. 26.11-27.2; 29.1-30. The Scotistic universal, on the other hand, is what is predicated of the singular: "... non tamen illud vere dici potest de quolibet inferiori, quod quodlibet *est ipsum*, hoc est enim solum possibile de obiecto eodem indifferenti *actu considerato ab intellectu;* quod quidem ut intellectum habet unitatem etiam numeralem obiecti, secundum quam ipsum idem est praedicabile de omni singulari, dicendo quod *hoc est hoc.*" *Op. Ox.* II, 3, 1, 8; ed. Quaracchi, II, 231 (no. 238). Cf. *Rep. Par.* II, 12, 5, 12; ed. Vives, XXIII, 31a; *Quaest. Metaph.* VII, 18, 6; ed. Vives, VII, 456-457. Both Duns Scotus and St Thomas recognize the use of the term "universal" to designate the common nature; see J. Owens, "Common Nature: A Point of Comparison Between Thomistic and Scotistic Metaphysics," *Mediaeval Studies* XIX (1957) 6-7, n. 23; 8, n. 28. Their own regular practice, however, is to contrast "universal" with the common nature or the nature taken absolutely.

Platonic Idea can be found immanent in the sensible thing, the Thomistic universal cannot. The Platonic Idea is found whole and entire in each particular instance in a way that renders it predicable of its singulars; while the Thomistic universal is not predicable any sensible thing. The Idea, finally, is prior to its particulars, the universal is subsequent to them.

Is there any other tenet in the philosophy of St Thomas to which the Platonic Ideas might show closer correspondence? Certainly not to the individual instances of things, for Ideas are regularly contrasted with singulars. An Idea is ssmething common to all the particulars. What else is there that is common in the doctrine of St Thomas, besides the universal? The essence or common nature of singular things seems all that is left in this regard. The common nature is represented as received into the individual just as the Platonic Idea is participated by the particular. When the common nature is abstracted without precision it is predicable of all its individuals in a way that identifies it in its entirety with each of them:

> Haec autem materia demonstrata est sicut recipiens illam naturam communem. Et ideo "natura" vel "essentia" significatur dupliciter: scilicet ut pars, secundum quod natura communis sumitur cum precisione cujuslibet ad naturam communem non pertinentis; sic enim materia demonstrata supervenit in compositionem singularis demonstrati, sicut hoc nomen "humanitas", et sic non predicatur, nec est genus, nec est species, sed ea formaliter denominatur homo; vel significatur ut totum, secundum quod ea quae ad naturam communem pertinent, sine praecisione intelliguntur; sic enim includitur in potentia etiam materia demonstrata in natura communi, et sic significatur hoc nomine "homo," et significatur ut quod est. Et utroque modo invenitur hoc nomen "essentia".[13]

As common, this nature or essence leaves out of consideration all that is contingent. Like the Platonic Idea, it signifies what necessarily pertains to the thing. It expresses only what belongs to the thing in itself. When it is abstracted without precision, it includes in its own way all its individual instances. It is predicable of each of them, in such a way that each of them is it. It is the *quod est*. Like the Platonic Idea, moreover, the Thomistic common nature is the immediate foundation of all the individual natures, and, though mediately, the foundation of all human knowledge of them:

> ... et inde est quod hoc quod competit naturae secundum absolutam considerationem, est ratio quare competit naturae alicui secundum esse quod habet in singulari, et non e converso. Ideo enim Socrates est rationalis, quia homo est rationalis, et non e converso unde dato quod Socrates et Plato non essent, adhuc humanae naturae rationalitas competeret (*Quodl.*, VIII, 1c).

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[13] *In I Sent.*, d. 23, q. 1, a. 1, Solut.; ed. Mandonnet, I, 555-6. Cf. *De Ente*, c. II; pp. 11. 19-23.7.

Like the Platonic Idea, the common nature has its own eternity and necessity in complete independence of existence in singulars:

> ...quia si omnes creaturae ab esse deficerent, remaneret adhuc natura senarii, prout abstrahit a quolibet esse hujusmodi (i. e., created being), quod ejus perfectioni competit; sicut etiam natura humana manebit talis quod ei competeret rationalitas (*Quodl.*, VIII, 1, ad 3m).

Besides immanence in sensible particulars, then, the Thomistic common nature like the Platonic Ideas enjoys eternal transcendence in respect to its contingent instances.

On these counts the essence abstracted without precision does indeed correspond quite exactly to the Platonic Idea. But what of the further characteristics seen above in the Platonic Form? An Idea was both one and many. It was scattered in an indefinite number of individuals, each distinct from the other, and yet it was never separated from itself. It remained one and the same. The Thomistic common nature on the other hand, is neither one nor many of itself, but able to be either. It is one in the intellect, it is one in a particular individual, but it is many in many individuals. Of itself, though, it is neither one nor many: "Vnde si queratur utrum ista natura sic considerata possit dici una uel plures neutrum concedendum est, quia utrumque extra intellectum humanitatis, et utrumque potest sibi accidere" (*De Ente*, c. III; p. 24.10-13). Unity and plurality are relegated to the sphere of the accidental or contingent, as far as the common nature is concerned. The Thomistic common nature is neither one nor many. The Platonic Idea, in contrast, is both one and many. In this way the Platonic difficulty that a thing cannot be one and many at the same time is completely by-passed for St Thomas. The contradiction just does not arise. But at what price? Was it a price that Plato could have afforded to pay?

The price, quite evidently, is thoroughgoing abstraction from being. To call that a price, of course, implies that it is a liability. From the Platonic view point, it well may be an unbearable deprivation. Whether it is so in the Thomistic procedure, is a different question. In point of fact, though, the Thomistic essence, taken without precision, abstracts from all being whatsoever: "Ergo patet quod natura hominis absolute considerata abstrahit a quolibet esse, ita tamen quod non fiat precisio alicuius eorum" (*De Ente*, c. III; p. 26.8-10). The common nature for St Thomas contains within its own self no being whatsoever. Finite essence is other than any being it may acquire. In this way it escapes the application of the first principle of being, the principle of non-contradiction. It does not have to be either one or not-one, many or not-many. It does not meet with the contradiction that the Platonic Idea could find no way of escaping.

Why was such a solution barred from Platonic thought? The doctrine of Ideas was sketched by Plato against a background firmly established in Greek philosophical tradition through the poem of Parmenides. Being denoted the unchangeable, the eternal. Contrasted with it was the realm of becoming, the sphere of sensible particulars. The Platonic Ideas were meant to safeguard being. They were necessarily the world of being. Their whole function was to ensure the presence of being in the world of things, and so make possible thought and communication through speech, and provide a firm foundation for social and moral life. They were meant to counter the *doxa* of the Sophists and of Isocrates. Their means of doing this was their unchangeable aspect of being. They had to have the aspect of being within themselves and so be able to participate it to the changing sensible world. Natures that did not include in themselves this aspect of being could not fulfill the functions of a Platonic Idea. Being had to be one of their essential constituents. There was no possibility for Plato of not including being in their very nature. They could not be really distinct from their being.

Against the Christian background of St Thomas, on the other hand, every finite nature was a creature. It did not have being of itself. It depended for its whole being upon its creator. Of itself it could have no aspect of being whatsoever, or it would to that extent be independent of its maker. Far from a liability, or a price to pay for a common predicable nature, the complete abstraction from being was rather an asset for a Christian philosophy. It established metaphysically what was already held by faith, that all finite things are dependent upon a primary efficient cause. It showed that any particular being had to be derived from subsistent being. In finite things all being whatsoever had to come from outside the essence or nature.

IV. Conclusion

These considerations show, however, that in spite of profound differences the Idea in the Platonic dialogues corresponds rather to the Thomistic common nature than to the Thomistic universal. At least, it is offered to meet the same problem. The problem concerns the necessity and unchangeableness and community of nature in spite of the contingence and variablity of the individuals in which a nature is found. Plato saw the problem clearly, and realized its difficulties. He never allowed himself to take an easy way out by suppressing either the immanence or the transcendence of Form that was required to meet the situation. He saw that the Idea had to be both immanent and transcendent. But in his Parmenidean background the Idea had to have the aspect of being; and immediately the serious difficulty was apparent. The Idea had to be. Because its nature involved being, it could not be immanent and transcendent at the same time. The difficulty was frankly acknowledged, but no solution was ever offered by Plato.

The same problem of predication was faced by St Thomas Aquinas. The nature predicated had to be both immanent and transcendent in regard to individuals. Abstracted without precision, it showed no aspect of being whatsoever. It was accordingly free from the unity that necessarily follows upon being. It was of itself neither one nor many, and so could be either one or many, according to the being that came to it from without. It could therefore be wholly identified with each individual in a way that allowed predication, and at the same time it could transcend the individual in an eternity of duration and in an indefinite multiplication in other particulars. It was both immanent and transcendent; but it gave rise to no contradiction, because it had no being. The Thomistic distinction between essence and being in finite things permits simultaneous immanence and transcendence. In fact, according to the metaphysical procedure followed in the *De Ente et Essentia*, the Thomistic distinction between essence and being is reached from the way in which predication shows that a sensible nature is common and eternally unchangeable, and yet wholly identified in reality with the changeable individual in which it is found.

Through Aristotle, though, St Thomas accepted the Platonic Idea as a hypostatized universal. It was something that had being of its own, and so could not be classed as a common nature. It had to be regarded, then, as a universal. As for William of Auvergne, the world of Ideas had to be a world of universals. Through Neoplatonism, St Thomas viewed those Ideas as meant to be the foundation of all further being. Universals, the products of the human way of thinking, seemed to have been wrongly given separate existence and then placed as the foundation of sensible things. Small wonder, consequently, that he regarded Platonism as imposing the structure of the human intellect upon the real world. For himself, on the other hand, he is able to place the common nature as the foundation of the world of particulars without at all imposing any action of the human intellect upon the structure of reality. The common nature is prior to the individuals, while the universal is subsequent to them. This means that the common nature is prior to all activity of the human intellect. It is prior to particular things, and the activity of the human intellect is dependent upon sensible particulars. Even though of itself it has no being, it is prior to singulars and to universals, both of which involve being. The dependence of finite things upon subsistent being enables the nature to have its absolute consideration placed prior to any created being, without infringing upon the priority of being in the actual individual or universal. The order accordingly is as follows:

> ...uniuscujusque naturae causatae prima consideratio est secundum quod est in intellectu divino; secunda vero consideratio est ipsius naturae absolute; tertia secundum quod habet esse in rebus ipsis, vel in mente angelica; quarta secundum esse quod habet in intellectu nostro;... (*Quodl.* VIII, 1c).

In this way the human intellect does not at all impose its structure upon things. Rather, the things impose their measure upon it:

> Similiter etiam intellectus divinus est ratio naturae absolute consideratae, et in singularibus; et ipsa natura absolute considerata et in singularibus est ratio intellectus humani, et quodammodo mensura ipsius (*Ibid.*).

To make the essence an Idea in an intellect, is to deprive it of its status as a creature.[14] It becomes identified in reality with the divine essence:

> Sic autem senarius non erit creatura, sed ratio creaturae in Creatore, quae est idea senarii; et est idem secundum rem quod divina essentia, ratione tantum differens (*Ibid.*).

The Thomistic common nature, therefore, in order to be the ground of all particulars without being their creative cause, has to abstract from any being whatsoever, whether being in an intellect or being in a particular thing:

> ...non dicitur quod perfectio remaneat in senario numero, quasi senarius numerus aliquod esse habeat in rerum natura, nulla creatura existente; remoto omni esse creato, remanet absoluta consideratio naturae senarii, prout abstrahit a quolibet esse, et sic attribuitur sibi perfectio; sicut remotis omnibus singularibus hominibus, adhuc remaneret rationalitas attribuibilis humanae naturae (*Quodl.*, VIII, 1, ad 1m).

In so far, then, as the common nature is the ground (*ratio*) of all particulars, and through them the ground of human intellection, it corresponds in function to the Platonic Idea. From the view point of being, however, the two philosophic conceptions are poles apart. They belong to two profoundly different metaphysical structures of reality. Both are meant to provide an eternally abiding and common ground for the natures realized in particular things. But for Plato, against his Parmenidean background, the Ideas had to be the source of whatever being was participated by the sensible world. For St Thomas, in his Christian environment, the situation was quite the opposite. Created things derived no being whatsoever from their own natures, no matter in what status those natures were considered. Every aspect of being they possessed, they derived mediately or immediately from their Creator. The same problem of the eternal and common essence, accordingly, was met in two very different ways. Plato offered a world of Ideas that was the world of true being. St Thomas isolated a common nature that was in itself completely devoid of being. The Platonic type of metaphysics supposes a real identity of finite essence and being; while the metaphysics of St Thomas keeps every finite essence other than its being, no matter in what status the essence is taken.

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[14] On the awkward situation occasioned by the use of the Platonic term "idea" in the framework of Thomistic doctrine, see R. J. Henle, *Saint Thomas and Platonism* (The Hague 1956) pp. 360-1. On the underlying role of predication in the Thomistic confrontation with Platonism, see *ibid.*, p. 337.

The "Tafurs" and the First Crusade

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Of all the events of the First Crusade, perhaps none is more astonishing than the acts of cannibalism committed by the *va-nu-pieds* before the walls of Antioch, during the siege of that city by the Crusaders. Since Paulin Paris first published in 1848 his edition of la *Chanson d'Antioche*,[1] the subject has drawn the passing attention of historians and of literary critics who have either questioned the historical validity of the event, or have simply accepted it. Athough Pigeonneau[2] alludes several times to the flesh-eating episodes, his principal interest in these events seems to be one of curiosity and he takes no stand either for or against their historical validity. A quite positive position against their verisimilitude has been taken by Hippeau and by Hagenmeyer and again, more recently by A. Adler,[3] for whom the very existence of a "roi Tafur" remains in doubt. P. Paris, A. Hatem, H. Glaesener and W. Porges[4] seem to accredit the events in question, but offer little in the way of proof. On the other hand, probably the best work to date on the Frankish conquest of Syria, C. Cahen's *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades*,[5] has nothing to say on the matter and such is the case also for the several recent histories of the Crusades -- those of K. M. Setton and N. W. Baldwin, S. Runciman, R. Grousset and A. Waas.[6]

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[1] (Paris, 1848), 2 vols. Hereafter cited as *Ant.* This is the sole edition extant. Although deficient in many respects (particularly in its antiquated transcription), it is more accessible to the reader for further consultation than would be the Mss, and we have therefore preferred it to the latter, for our quotes. The author of the present article is currently completing a new edition of *La Chanson d'Antioche*, based on all the known Mss.

[2] *Le Cycle de la Croisade et de la Famille de Bouillon* (St.-Cloud 1877).

[3] C. Hippeau, ed. *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, entitled *La Conquête de Jérusalem faisant suite à la Chanson d'Antioche* (Paris, 1868), introd. pp. xxix-xxx (hereafter cited as *Jérus.*); H. Hagenmeyer, *Le Vrai et le faux sur Pierre l'Ermite*, tr. Furcy-Raynaud (Paris 1879), p. 251, n. 1: "Leur roi *Tafur* n'est pas un personnage historique, c'est la personnification de cette sorte d'hommes"; A. Adler, 'The composition of the Chanson de Guillaume,' *Mod. Phil.* XLIX (Feb. 1952) 162: "The historicity of the *Tafus* may still be doubted... However,... they were in the tradition of the Crusade Cycle."

[4] P. Paris, *Nouvelle Étude sur la Chanson d'Antioche* (Paris 1878), p. 24; A. Hatem, *Les Poèmes épiques des croisades* (Paris 1937) pp. 195-7; H. Glaesener, 'La Prise d'Antioche en 1098,' *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* XIX (1940) 78; W. Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade,' *Speculum* XXI (Jan. 1946) 12-13.

[5] Paris, 1940. The only allusion we have been able to find is in a sparse note, p. 212, n. 22 speaking of "les traditions romancées sur les Tafurs (dans la) *Chanson*."

[6] K. M. Setton & M. W. Baldwin, *A History of the Crusades*, 5 vols. (Phila. 1955-19--;

In addition to having overlooked several important sources relating to the question of cannibalism at the First Crusade, the historians have shed but little light on the identity of those ruffians whom the *Chanson d'Antioche* names the *Tafurs.* Although these problems, in relation to the Crusades as a whole may be of secondary importance, they reveal nonetheless an interesting aspect of the behaviour of some of the Crusaders. As a further goal, we hope to elucidate certain passages of *Antioche* alluding to the *Tafurs*, and to bring into closer relationship than has been done heretofore, the *Chanson* and the other contemporary chronicles, including other vernacular sources.

Who were the *Tafurs* and their *roi*? This question has already drawn the attention of historians and philologists. Some have seen in them the rabble of all the nationalities participating in the Crusade and, entirely on the authority of Guibert of Nogent,[7] have invariably ascribed to their chief a Norman origin.[8] At the end of his chronicle, Guibert adds various details to events narrated earlier, informing us that the *Tafurs* were led by a Norman nobleman who, according to rumor, had abandoned his noble station in order to share the lot of the *piétaille.* He then persuaded the dregs among these, the *va-nu-pieds*, who were bound to the service of no lord, to accept him as their leader.

But, according to another source, the *roi des Tafurs* was Flemish. The version of *La Chanson de Jérusalem* contained in what Reiffenberg has called the *Compilation de Bruxelles*[9] says of this fabulous character:

> Ly roys Cornumarans va forment regardant
> Le fort roys des Taffurs, qui moult ot fier samblant:
> D'Ardène estoit-il nés, moult avoit le corps grant.
> Ens el palais de Liéege avoit demoret tant,
> Qu'il minast ung castiel desous roche séant. (IV, vv.16705-09)

As for his subjects, they, too, were mostly Flemish. The Belgian poet yields

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thus far, only Vol. I has been published); S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1951); R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris 1934-36); A. Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols. (Freiburg 1956).

[7] *Recueil des Historiens des croisades*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1841-1906), Vol. IV of 16 vols, 242A: "Hos, quum quidam ex Northmannia oriundus, haud obscuro, ut ferunt, loco natus, ex equite tamen pedes factus, sine domino oberrare videret, depositis armis et quibus utebatur induviis, eorum se regem profiteri voluit. Inde rex Tafur barbarica lingua coepit vocari." We will hereafter designate as follows the various categories of this work, using the abbreviations proposed by MM. Setton & Baldwin, *op. cit.* I, XII: *RHC, Arm.* for *Documents arméniens*; *RHC, Grecs* for *Historiens grecs*; *RHC, Lois* for *Assises de Jérusalem*; *RHC, Occ.* for *Historiens occidentaux*; *RHC, Or.* for *Historiens orientaux*.

[8] P. Paris, *Ant.*, 'Table des noms', II 370; A. Hatem, *op. cit.*, p. 195; A. Adler, *op. cit.*, 162; 164 n. 47.

[9] *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, Vol. IV of 6 vols. (Bruxelles 1846-54).

much information on this subject. At Antioch, where the army of "Corbaran" (Kerbogha) had newly arrived, the Crusaders had just succeeded in wresting the city from the Turkish garrison of "Garsion" (Yaghi-Siyan), but soon found themselves besieged. Well aware that provisions were short, Kerbogha lost no time in exploiting the situation: tables, laden with succulent foods, were set up barely out of arrow-shot, but sufficiently close to the walls so that the Christian defenders could see, smell and suffer. Finding the temptation overwhelming, the *roi des Tafurs* proposed that he and his subjects become, as it were, uninvited guests at the pagan feast. Encouraging his band, he recalled to them deeds of the recent past:

> "Je vous ay bien véut à Bruges et à Gant,
> A Liége ou à Namur, en Haynau, en Brabant,
> A Tournay, à Aras ou à Lille ensiévant,
> Ou droit à Valenciennes, ou vous ay véut tant,
> Dedens une goudale vous aliés combatant,
> Pour l'uève d'un hierenc c'on vous aloit emblant,
> Que trestous voz driapiaus aloit-on deskiérant;
> Et puis en le prison vous aloit-on boutant.
> Or veés-vous là jus le rost sy bien flariant,
> Les tartes, les pastés et le char rostissant:
> Et vous avés sy fain, que vous alés morant.
> N'oseriés-vous aler où cil bien sont quisant?
> S'on ne nous voet donner, se soions avenant."
> Et quant ly rybaut vont le bon roy escoutant,
> Il ont dit haultement: "Car y alons courant!" (*ib.*, vv. 7695-09).

From this, one might conjecture that the Tafur bands, for the greater part, were Flemish, as was their *roi*.

Why the name *Tafur*? Historians and philologists are not at all sure of its origin. According to Hård af Segerstad, the word may be another form of the pagan god Toutatis.[10] A. Hatem[11] believes the name to come from the Armenian *tahavor*, meaning "king". Noting, but not accepting this explanation, C. Cahen[12] hazards the arabic *tâfoûr*, meaning "miserable", while J. Sauvaget[13] believes it to come from the arabic *tafrân*. This would seem plausible enough, were it not for the fact that, as C. Cahen has noted (*loc. cit.*), the poet of the

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[10] K. Hård af Segerstad, *Sur les Dieux des Sarrasins dans les Chansons de geste du XII^e^ s.* (Uppsala 1926) p. 37.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 195. An analogous point of view is shared by Suzanne Duparc-Quioc (*Le Cycle de la Croisade*, Bibliothèque des Hautes-Etudes No. 305 [Paris, 1955], p. 29) who believes that "takfur" translates the Turkish for Nicéphorus (a name familiar to the Moslems since the time of Nicephorus Phocas). "Takfur", she says, was subsequently associated with the Armenian "thakavor" ("king").

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 1.

[13] Cited by C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 1. W. Porges (*op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 1) believes the word to be "a term for Saracens, extended to cover gypsies and truands of any nationality."

Chanson d'Antioche says "roi des Tafurs"[14] as well as "roi Tafur."[15] Let us note also that the word is likewise used in both manners by Guibert of Nogent.[16] As for "roi Tafur", there would seem to be a further possibility that this is simply a genitive, of which we have countless examples in other epic literature. But, here again, the Armenian *tahavor* ("king") could obviously not satisfy as an explanation.

We ask whether one might not reasonably look for a Flemish origin for *Tafur*, since those called by this name did apparently come from Flanders and, as well, both the poet and *remanieur* of *Antioche*, Richard le Pèlerin and Graindor de Douai.[17] What does the *Chanson* say which might enlighten us further on this subject?

Despite the important rôle given to the *Tafurs* in those parts of his poem describing battles, the poet has, curiously enough, little to say about the defensive arms of these *ribauds*.[18] And yet, common sense would seem to suggest that, since they were all foot-soldiers, they must have carried some sort of *écu* to protect themselves against the arrows rained on them by the Turks. Here again, the *Compilation de Bruxelles* is a precious source of information concerning these *va-nu-pieds*:

> Quant ly Sarrasin ont veü les Taffurois,
> Qui d'uis et de feniestres, d'assieles et de bois
> Faisoient leur escus contre les ars turquois... (V, v.16290-92)

Now, judging by the materials used in their fabrication, the shields of the *Tafurs* must have been of considerable dimension; in all probability, of sufficient size to protect the entire body. We know that, unlike the barons, the poor at the Crusade were miserably equipped. Might we not suppose that the *menu peuple* were forced to seek imaginative, make-shift ways of shielding themselves, using any and all available materials with which they fashioned crude, but effective, large shields capable of covering the whole body?

We have elsewhere in epic literature allusions to a sort of shield called the *talevart* or *talevas*, especially destined to guarantee against arrows and darts:

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[14] See *Ant.*, I, pp. 135 (twice), 219; II, p. 13. Likewise in Reiffenberg, *Comp. de Bruxelles* in *Monuments...*, V, vv. 5391, 6086; in *Jérus.*, pp. 78,115, 175, 176 (twice), 177, 192, 208, 211, 213, 251, 264, etc.; in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, ed. Gayangos, Vol. XLIV of the *Bibliotheca de autores españoles* (Madrid 1858), XLIV, 211.

[15] See *Ant.*, II, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 127, 128, 254, 294. Likewise in *Jérus.*, pp. 51, 65, 66, 71, 72, 81, 83, 104, 114, 125, 127, 166, 171, 172, 174, 194, etc.

[16] *RHC Occ.*, IV, 242F: "Quo illi agnito, et verum penitus quod fingitur autumantes, jam magis insolentiam Tafurum quam nostrorum, quodam modo, principum vehementiam formidabant." *Ibid.*, 242A: "Inde rex Tafur barbarica lingua coepit vocari."

[17] The name of the "remanieur" can leave no doubt about his Flemish origin: "Grainsdor de Douai" (*Ant.*, I, 2). As for the origins of Richard the Pilgrim, see below.

[18] A single allusion, II, 254: "Il n'ont auberc né elme né guige au col pendue."

> As talevaz se sout e cuvrir e moller[19]
>
> Fiert le paien desor le talevart,
> Qui le bras destre le torne a une part.[20]

But doubtless one of the best descriptions of this defensive arm is to be found in Fauchet's *Origine des Chevaliers, armoiries et héraux*:[21]

> "L'on usoit encores d'une autre forme d'escu appelé *tallevas, et dont un Guillaume comte d'Alençon prist le surnom* (je ne sçai pas s'il en fut inventeur) mais il semble qu'il fut courbe comme une double festiere de couverture de maison. *Lequel tallevas couvroit son homme entierement, ayant une pointe a bas, pour le ficher en terre, et qui estoit fort massif, afin de couvrir ceux qui estoient derriere,* volontiers arbalestriers ou archers: desquels il se voit (mais en plus petit modelle) des figures en la colonne de Trajan..."

Was this in fact the shield carried by the Flemish ruffians? Although there is doubtless room left for discussion on this matter, certainly the hypothesis would seem worth taking under consideration as a possible explanation of the name *Tafur, roi des Tafurs,* etc. such as it is used in *Antioche.* Might it not be possible that the shield called *talevas, talevart* was particular to the Flemish, as was their redoubtable arm called the *goudendag* and their equally formidable *colf*?

The latter offer striking examples of arms associated uniquely with the lower classes of Flanders. In the *Compilation de Bruxelles* we read: "Glaves et goudendas portoient ly Flamenc."[22] Reiffenberg says, concerning the origin of the *goudendag*: "... les Flamands à la sanglante journée de Courtrai, l'an 1302, se servirent de ces piques appelés *goedendag*, par une ironie martiale et terrible qu'explique Guillaume Guiart, auteur de la *Branche aus roiaus lignages* (ed. J. A. Buchon [Paris, 1828]):

> A grans bâtons pesans ferrés
> Avec leur fer agu devant
> Vont ceux de France recevant.
> Tiex bâtons qu'il portent en guerre
> Ont nom *godendac* en la terre.
> *Godendag*, c'est bon jour a dire,
> Qui en françois le veut décrire.
> Cil bâton sont long et traitis,

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[19] *Roman de Rou*, ed. H. Andresen (Heilbronn, 1877-79), Vol. II line 1770.

[20] *Fouque de Candie*, ed. P. Tarbé (Reims 1860), p. 24.

[21] (Paris 1581), Vol. II, cited by F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXᵉ au XVᵉ siècle* (Paris 1881-98), Vol. VII of 10 vols., 633.

[22] Reiffenberg, *Compilation...*, in *Monuments...*, V, v. 5938.

Pour férir à deux mains faitis,
Et quant l'on en faut au descendre
Si cil qui fiert i veut entendre
Et il en sache bien ouvrer,
Tantot peut son cop recouvrer
Et férir, sans s'aler moquant,
Du bout devant en estoquant
Son ennemi parmi le ventre!
Et li fers est agu qui entre.[23]

As for the *colf*, this would seem another example of an arm so unusual, that those who carried it took its name: *colve-kerli*. The observations of Kervyn de Lettenhove on this subject are most pertinent:

> Cependant le compte Rodulf de Guines essaya de réduire par la force ces populations d'origine saxonne. Non seulement il soumit les karls à un impôt qui était d'un denier chaque année et de quatre deniers le jour de leur marriage ou de leur mort, mais il ordonna aussi qu'ils renonçassent à leurs couteaux pour ne garder que leurs massues. Après le *scharm-sax*, l'arme nationale des races saxonnes, la massue à laquelle elles donnaient le nom de *colf* était celle qu'elles chérissaient le plus. Consacrée au dieu Thor, protecteur de leurs colonies, que l'Edda nous montre portant une massue dans ses combats contre les géants, elle était pour elles le symbole de la conquête qui élevait leur gloire et de l'association qui faisait leur force. Lambert d'Ardres attribue à la défense du comte Rodulf l'origine du nom des *colve-kerli*, ou karls armés de massues, que conservèrent les cultivateurs du pays de Guines.[24]

Concerning the *Tafurs*, we conjecture that the Frankish crusaders must have been struck not only by the dimension of the shield which the *ribauds* carried, but also by the strange inflection of *tafar* given to *talevas, talevart*.[25] After some time, by extension, the word *tafar* became associated with those who carried the shield (in the same way that the *cheval* identified the *chevalier*, that the oversized *talevart* identified Guillaume d'Alençon [see above, quote 21], that the *scharm-sax* identified the Saxons in Flanders, and that the *colve-kerli* the Carls, or Karlings of Flanders) and the *ribauds* were given the name *Tafar*.[26] Somewhat later, as a consequence of the increasingly close contact with the Armenians in North Syria, the crusaders heard the word *tahavor* by which the Armenians designated their king, with the result that the Flemish *Tafar* was possibly contaminated by the Armenian *tahavor*. Soon the two words were inextricably mixed, designating both the king of the Flemish ruffians, *roi Tafur*, and the entire group, *les Tafurs*. The hypothesis, if correct, would likewise explain the same confusion which exists in the chronicle of Guibert of Nogent concerning the *Tafurs*.

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 107, note for v. 5938.

[24] Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (Bruxelles 1847-50) Vol. I of 6 vols., 75-6.

[25] The unaccented medial *e* would have dropped.

[26] In addition to these descriptive terms for certain arms and those who bore them, one might note that Flemish history is fairly replete with such epithets: Guillaume Longue Epée, Baudouin à la Hache; Guillaume Taillefer; Baudouin Bras de Fer; etc.

But however that may be, if the fame of the Flemish *ribauds* had reposed on the oddity of their name alone, it is not likely that the chroniclers would have been much concerned with them. It is rather, because of some of their exploits that they merit our attention. From a pertinent allusion to them in the *Chanson*, these people would seem to have indeed been capable of acts of great brutality. During the taking of Antioch by the crusaders, those whom the poet calls the *Tafurs* took a particular delight in violating the infidel women whom they found in the city: "Des beles Sarrasines i ont fait lor delis" (*Ant.*, II, 127). There is reason to believe that they did the same again later, at the taking of Jerusalem:

"Les Sarrasines plorent, chascune brait et crie,...
Li ribaut les saisirent, mainte en ont efforcie;
Chascuns en fait son bon, après l'a despoillie;
Ne mais fors la chemise ne li a pas laissie." (*Jérus.*, vv.4486-92)

The poet supposes that we already know about other exploits of the *Tafurs*, at least as infamous, when he tells us: "... ce fut la maisnie qui plus fu redotée." (*Ant.*, II, 295)

What other savage deeds may be imputed to them? However incredible it might seem, on the surface, at least, there is substantial reason to believe that some of the crusaders, and particularly those called the *Tafurs*, resorted to flesh-eating on two or more occasions. It is with these acts of cannibalism, that the second part of this paper will be concerned.

The best-documented authority on the *Tafurs* is the poet of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Ricars li pelerins*.[27] For the principal events of the Crusade, he is a rich source of information. However, although his chronicle accords in its broad lines with the narrations of the other historians, his account of happenings is often more detailed. It is particularly by the host of invaluable facts which he gives concerning the *gens minuta*, that his poem (which might more properly be called a rhymed chronicle[28]) deserves a special place among the few eye-witness accounts of the First Crusade.[29]

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[27] So named by the *trouvère* (*Ant.*, II, 260). What importance should we attach to the qualification of *pèlerin*? According to Nicole Verlet-Réaubourg ('L'Œuvre de Richard le Pèlerin et de Graindor de Douai connue sous le nom de Chanson d'Antioche' [unpubl. diss. Paris 1932], in *Position des Thèses de l'Ecole des Chartes* [1932] p. 154): "... sa qualité de pèlerin... indique non pas exactement qu'il ait été à la croisade, mais au moins en Terre Sainte." Without wishing to "read" any meaning into the text, we believe this definition to fall short in its considerations. In another part of the poem, we find an analogous use of the word (*pèlerin*) which may give us some further insight into the intended meaning (*Ant.*, I, 182):

Li dus* chevauche a force et tout si compaignon, *G. de Bouillon
O lui est li quens Hues et Robers li Frison,
Et tout li *pelerin* del roiaume Charlon,
Torsolt* trovent conquise et le maistre donjon... *Tarsus

It would seem, then, that *pèlerin* would have in the poem a meaning equivalent to *croisé*.

Unlike most of the other contemporary Christian chroniclers, he does not appear to have been bound by ecclesiastical responsibilities, nor by hope of patronage, to the service of any feudal lord.[30] As for his dialect and his frequent allusions to various regional groups, both would seem to identify him as *homme du nord*, possibly from Picardy, close to the confines of the Artois, or even from French Flanders. As a matter of fact, much of the guesswork can be eliminated from the complex, all-important question of the poet's national origin. We observe that he knows very little about the knights from the *Midi* at the Crusade. Although he speaks often of count Raymond of Toulouse and quite fairly attributes to him the role of a great leader, he is silent concerning such other important names as Raimbaud II, count of Orange; Isarn, count of Die; Raymond I, viscount of Turenne; Centule V, viscount of Béarn; Peter, viscount of Castillon; Heraclius of Polignac, *porte-enseigne* of Adhémar of Puy, etc.[31]

The same is true for the West of France, the poet mentioning only Alan, count of Brittany.[32] As for Eastern France, the poet obviously speaks of Godfrey and Baldwin of Bouillon (leaders of such stature that all the chroniclers attribute to them major roles) and of Baldwin of Bourg and Reginald of Toul. But there is not a word about Henry of Esch, Godfrey of Esch, nor Dudon of Conti. The only German knight he knows is the duke of Bavaria, "Hungier l'Allemand" (the Welfo, Guelfo, Guelfarius of the Latin chroniclers).

[28] By virtue of its very nature, which is preponderantly historical. We are thinking of such other rhymed chronicles as: *La Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskès*; *Le Roman de Rou*; *l'Estoire des Englois*; *La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*; etc.

[29] Of the nine major Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade, we find only three eye-witnesses: the Anonym; Raymond of Aguilers (but whose work slightly postdates the events he describes — See H. Hagenmeyer, ed. *Anonymi*: *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* [Heidelberg 1890] p. 57); Fulcher of Chartres (but who, having accompanied his seigneur, Baldwin, to Edessa in July 1097, missed major events happening elsewhere — see C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11).

[30] In this category are: Raymond of Aguilers, chaplain of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse; Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain of Baldwin of Bouillon; Radulf of Caen, knight long in the service of Bohemond, then of Tancred; the Anonym, Norman knight of Southern Italy, in the service of Bohemond.

We can be sure that the poet was not of noble extraction. If the *remanieur* calls him simply *Ricars li pèlerins*, it is doubtless because he had no family name.

[31] For a fairly representative list, see A. Le Prévost, ed. *Ordéric Vital* (Paris 1838-55), Vol. III of 5 vols., 485 n. 2.

[32] For a comprehensive list, see H. Fourmont, *L'Ouest aux Croisades* (Nantes, 1865) and A. Legendre, *Le St-Sépulcre depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours et les croisés du Maine* (Le Mans, 1898).

Of the knights of Franche-Comté, he mentions only Oliver of Jussey. The same is true for Ile-de-France and for the Orléanais. We are not surprised that the poet gives important roles to such leaders as Hugh I "le mainsné," count of Vermandois, to Stephen of Blois, Raoul of Beaugency, Everard of Puiset, and he also mentions briefly Gerard of Laon, Odo of Beauvais and Paien of Garlande. He is no rich source of information on Normandy, either. Of course, he speaks of the powerful Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, and gives somes details concerning the death of Roger of Barneville[33] and on William and Yves of Grandmesnil (near Lisieux), on Gerard of Gournay (Seine-inférieure, in the Bray, on the Norman-Picard boundary). On the other hand, not the slightest allusion to Odo, bishop of Bayeux and uncle of Robert of Normandy, nor to Philip-the-Clerk, nor to Walter, count of St. Valéri-sur-Somme and grandson of Richard-the-Young, duke of the Normans, nor to Raoul Guader — all mentioned by the Norman chronicler Ordericus Vitalis[34] as being among the most important knights accompanying Robert of Normandy on the Crusade.

On the other hand, as Claude Cahen has recently pointed out,[35] it is as we go northward toward Picardy, Artois and Flanders that the poem becomes most rich in details pointing toward a localisation in that region. As we would expect, the poet speaks very often of Robert II, count of Flanders. But what is doubtless more important and suggestive of intimate knowledge, is his wealth of information about such lesser-known persons as Evervins of Creil (Oise) and Peter Postiaux ("nés devers Monsdidier," II, 187-191) about whom he relates a heart-warming episode found nowhere else; about Roger of Rosoy (Thierache — "qui un poi va clochant," I, 211 — obviously the observation of a *témoin oculaire*); Drogo of Nesle (Somme); Walter of Donmeart (subprefecture of Doullens in Picardy) and his son Bernard named "li delitous" (II, 216); Anselme of Ribemont (Aisne), count of Ostrevant and of Valenciennes; Baldwin Calderon (from Incy, in the Artois, about 9 mi. from Cambrai); Gerard of Quierzy (Aisne); Thomas, sire of Coucy and of Marle (Aisne[36]); Drogo of Monchy (Monchy Cayeux, near St-Pol, in the Artois[37]); Aliis of Furnes (or Veurne, in Western Flanders, about 25 mi. NE of Dunkirk); Baldwin of

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[33] See A. De Gerville, *Recherches sur les anciens châteaux du département de la Manche* (Paris 1825), p. 85).

[34] See ed. Le Prévost, III, 483-4.

[35] 'Le premier cycle de la croisade (*Antioche-Jérusalem-Chétifs*) — Notes brèves à propos d'un livre (récent ?)', *Le Moyen Age*, LXIII, No. 3 (1957), 314.

[36] See Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 'La Chanson de Jérusalem; étude historique et critique' (diss. Paris, 1937) in *Position des thèses de l'École des chartes* (1937), p. 140, according to whom the important role given to this lord would be explained by a close connection between Graindor de Douai and the family of Coucy.

[37] See Le Prévost, *op. cit.*, III, 481, n. 5.

Mons (Baldwin IV of Hainaut[38]); Baldwin II of Ghent, lord of Alost[39]; Werner of Grez (in Southern Brabant[40]); Eustace III, count of Boulogne.[41]. The poet-chronicler likewise narrates an unusual episode concerning Raimbaud Creton of Estourmel (near Cambrai[42]) and another about Hugh and Enguerrand of St-Pol (in the Artois[43]). He relates a completely original episode concerning Gontier of Aire (Aire-sur-la-Lys, in the Pas-de-Calais[44]) and gives us a unique eye-witness account of the death of Goscelon of Montaigu and of the inconsolable grief of his father, Conon, count of Montaigu.[45] In conclusion, an interesting and perhaps significant detail: of the 63 barons named by Richard the Pilgrim, 21 are from the northern provinces of Picardy, Artois, and Flanders.

Ricars li pèlerins was probably a man of modest station, and seems to have mingled with the lower classes of pilgrims. He was a close associate of the poor and of Peter the Hermit,[46] their spokesman, speaking often of their suffering, and always with great compassion.[47] But of all the *menu peuple*, there was one element in particular which Richard knew especially well: those terrifying "pilgrims" known as the *Tafurs*, of whom the greater part, we have seen, were natives of the northernmost provinces, and particularly of Flanders. Wretched survivors of the débâcle at the Civetot,[48] and of the punishments meted out for their earlier senseless ravages across the length and breadth of the Christian realms through which they passed,[49] they were joined by other poor crusaders who found a certain comfort in associating themselves with the common suffering. Scantily clothed in rags and deformed by malnutrition, they must indeed have had the appearance of savages:[50]

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[38] See *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, comp. Benedictins of Saint-Maur (Paris 1783-87), Vol. II of 3 vols., 28.

[39] See Reiffenberg, *op. cit.*, "Liste critique des personnes qui prirent part à la première expédition des croisés, dirigée par Godefroid de Bouillon et qui étaient nés dans les Pays-Bas, ...," V, introd., CXLI, col. I.

[40] See *RHC Occ.*, IV, 299, n.c.

[41] At the time of the First Crusade, and up to the death of Philip of Alsace, Boulogne was still a fief of the counts of Flanders, which explains why Eustace accompanied Robert of Flanders, rather than his brother, Godfrey, on the Crusade. See A. Du Chesne, *Les Antiquitez et recherches des villes, chasteaux et places plus remarquables de toute la France* (Paris 1668), Vol. I of 2 vols., 442-3.

[42] See Reiffenberg, *op. cit.*, "Liste critique...", V, CLV, col. I-II.

[43] See G. E. Sauvage, *Histoire de St-Pol* (Arras 1834).

[44] Aire, Dixmude, St Venant and Furnes were part of the dowry brought by Clemence to her marriage with Robert II of Flanders. See Kervyn de Lettenhove, *op. cit.*, I, 357-8.

[45] "Le château de Montaigu était situé au bord de l'Ourthe, entre Marche et La Roche, dans la province de Luxembourg" (Le Prévost, *op. cit.*, III, 555 n. 1). The Montaigus were doubtless vassals of Robert of Flanders, as were Hugh and Enguerrand of St-Pol and Baldwin of Ghent (see C. Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison, Comte de Flandres* [Paris 1935] 'Catalogue d'actes,' p. 173, art. V and E. Le Glay, *Histoire des Comtes de Flandres* [Paris 1867], p. 72, col. II).

[46] With the exception of accounts of Peter's cowardly attempt to flee Antioch during the counter-siege by Kerbogha (see below, n. 62), the Latin chroniclers say little of his activities once the Crusaders have left Constantinople. Concerning him as he was known to Richard the Pilgrim, see *Ant.*, II, 'Table des noms,' s.v. 'Pierre', pp. 352-53, for verse mentioning him.

[47] His account of the atrocious conditions endured by the poor during the Antioch campaign is seconded by the chroniclers. Concerning the rude climate, see: 'Stephani, Comitis Carnotensis ac Blesensis ad uxorem Adelam Epistola,' *RHC, Occ.*, III, 889A; Robert the Monk, *ibid.*, 777E; William of Tyre, *ibid.*, I, 181. Concerning the famine, see: Raymond of Aguilers, *ibid.*, III, 245B-C; W. of Tyre, *ibid.*, I, 180-1. But by far the best eye-witness account is that of *Ricars li Pelerins* (see below, quote 58 and n. 59).

> "Li rois Tafurs en ist et ses riches barnés,
> Et Pieres li Hermites, li pelerins senés,...
> Moult orent grant compaigne de ribaus adurés,
> Près furent de dis mil tous com oïr povés.
> Là péussiés véir tant vieus dras dépanés.
> Et tante longe barbe et tant chiés hurepés,
> Tant magres et tans sès et tant descolorés,
> Et tante torte eschine et tans ventres enflés,
> Et tante jambe torse et tans piés bestornés,
> Et tant mustiaus rostis et tant cauquains crevés." (II, 221-2)

It is easy to believe the poet who tells us that, as far as the Turks were concerned: "N'i ot eschiele qui tant i fust cremue" (I, 255).

We wonder, of course, how accurate is the colorful description of the *Tafurs*, according to Richard the Pilgrim. On this subject, it is interesting to note a striking similarity between the *Tafurs* of the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *kerels* or *karls* described in a biting, satirical tirade against them,[51] written about

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[48] Well before the peasant-crusaders arrived at Constantinople, Peter the Hermit had completely lost control over them. These impetuous brigands had little trouble in persuading the Basileus, at the end of his patience with their exploits in his capitol (see l'*Anonyme* ed. L. Bréhier, [Paris 1924], p. 7), to have his ships carry them accross the Gulf of Nicomedia to Bithynia. There, instead of awaiting the arrival of the other Christian armies, they undertook alone to invade the territories of the Emir of Nicaea (Kilidj Arslan I ibn Sulaiman). Overwhelmed by force of numbers, thousands perished in the tortuous passes of the Drakon. For a detailed account of the disaster (added by the *trouvère* to the primitive version), see *Ant.*, I, 22-46; Albert of Aix, *RHC*, *Occ.*, IV, 285-88; *Anonym*, ed. Bréhier, pp. 7-13; Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, ed. & tr. B. Leib (Paris 1937-46), Vol. II of 3 vols., 210-212.

[49] See A. of Aix, *RHC Occ.*, IV, 274-281; G. of Nogent, *ibid.*, 142H-143D.

[50] And further, during the battle:

> Es-vous le roi Tafur, o lui sa gent menue,...
> A maint Sarrasin ont la cervele espandue.
> Orible gens estoit et moult laide et herue...
> En la plus grande presse de paiens s'est ferue,
> Qui n'i puet avenir, de grans caillaus i rue,
> Tout à dens eskigniés sore lui est corue,
> A celui qui le voit vis est qu'il le menjue. (II, 254-55)

[51] We quote from the interesting work of Louis de Baecker, *Chants historiques de la Flandre (400-1650)* (Lille 1855) pp. 174-7.

1328. The song was inspired by their abortive rebellion (1324-1327) against those nobles who, during a prolonged absence of Louis de Nevers, imposed extraordinarily heavy taxes on the people. The revolt, led by Lambert Bouwen, Zegher Jansone, Gautier Rodger, and Jacques Peyt, was snuffed out in the famous Battle of Cassel:

(I) Wi willen van den kerels zinghen,
Si sijn van quaeder aert;
Si willen de ruters dwinghen,
Si draeghen een langhen baert.
Haer cleedren dic Zyn al ontnait;
Een hoedekin op haer hooft ghecapt,
't caproen staet al verdrayt,
Haer cousen en haer scoen ghelapt.
Vronghele ende wey, broot ende caes,
Dat heit hi al den dach;
Daerom es de kerel so daes,
Hi hetes meer dan hijs mach.[52]
(III) Ter kermesse wil hi gaen,
Hem dinct es een grave;
Daer wil hijt al omne slaen,
Met sinen verroesten stave.
Dan gaet hi drinken van de wine,
Stappans es hi versmoort;
Dan es al de werelt zine,
Stede, lant, ende poort.
Vronghele ende wey, broot ende caes, etc...[53]

We have alluded earlier to certain acts of savagery committed by the *Tafurs*. It would appear, however, that there was one reason especially for the terror which the enemy had of them: they ate the flesh of fallen Turkish soldiers, including those freshly buried in the local Moslem cemeteries. It cannot be determined when they first acquired their taste for human flesh;[54] however, it seems that their earliest acts of cannibalism were committed during the siege of Antioch, at a time when all the crusading army was famished. Conditions were now in marked contrast to those they had found when first arriving in the region of Antioch. At that time, says the Provençal chronicler Raymond of Aguilers,[55] there was such an abundance of food that of an entire steer, only the choicest steaks would be eaten. Little could they foresee the lean years ahead! All too rarely did Genoese ships arrive with food supplies,[56] and succor from Constantinople was insufficient.[57] The Crusaders became almost totally dependent upon the Armenian merchants of nearby Port Saint-Siméon, who seized upon the occasion to enrich themselves. Up went the prices:

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[52] "Nous savons une chanson sur les Kerels, ils sont d'une mauvaise race; ils veulent s; soumettre les chevaliers; ils portent la barbe longue. Leurs vêtements sont tout décoususe leurs chapeaux sont déchirés et leurs chaperons tout de travers; leurs bas et leurs souliers sont en lambeaux. Du lait aigre et caillé, du pain et du fromage, voilà ce que mange le Kerel tous les jours; voilà pourquoi il est si bête, il mange plus qu'il ne peut."

[53] "Quand il va à la kermesse, il se croit un comte; il veut tout renverser avec sa massue noueuse. S'il va boire du vin, il est bientôt enivré; alors le monde entier lui appartient: villes, bourg et domaines. Du lait aigre et caillé du pain et du fromage, etc..."

[54] Was it at the Civetot? (See above, n. 48). Anna Comnena describes the ruthlessness of the peasant-crusaders upon first arriving in Turkish territory (ed. & trans. B. Leib. II, 210): "Des Normands le suivaient (Pierre l'ermite) au nombre d'environ dix mille; ils se séparèrent du reste de l'armée et se mirent à piller les environs de Nicée en se conduisant à l'égard de tous avec la dernière cruauté. Les enfants à la mamelle par exemple, ou bien ils les mutilaient, ou bien ils les empalaient sur des pieux et les faisaient rôtir au feu."

> ... qui un petit pain i péust recovrer,
> Volentiers en fesist deus besans d'or doner.
> La quisse d'asne crue font cent sous acater;
> Cinc sous vent-on la poire quant on la peut trover:
> Deus feves à denier là ot grant desirer,
> Petit i remest heuse à mengier, né sollier,
> Nés les tacons desous menjuent sans saler.
> Tant maint en véissiés de famine pasmer.[58]

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[55] *RHC, Occ.*, III, 242E-F. See also W. of Tyre, *ibid.*, I, 180.

[56] For this entire period, Hagenmeyer ('Chronologie de la Première Croisade,' *ROL*, VI [1898], 518 no. 210) mentions only one arrival of ships carrying food supplies. The Armenian chiefs of the Taurus, Constantine, Pazouni and Oshin, as well as the monks of the Amanus mountains, sent to the Crusaders as much food as they could (see Matthew of Edessa, *RHC, Arm.*, I, 33). But this obviously must have fallen far short of the army's needs, since all of the chroniclers speak of the terrible famines at Antioch. Another source of foodstuffs was occasionally found in capturing Armenian and Syrian supply caravans destined for the Turks in Antioch (see below, n. 58).

[57] But the good intentions of Alexius cannot be questioned, for he had contributed to the Crusade a contingent, under the Great Primikerios himself, Tatikios. For an unbiased evaluation of the Greek contribution to the Crusade, see F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^er^ Comnène (1081-1118)* (Paris 1900) p. 194 ff.

[58] *Ant.*, I, 245. Caught in the middle, as it were, between Crusaders and Turks, the Armenians and Syrians sold supplies to both sides (see *Ant.*, I, 246 re food sold to Crusaders). Re supplies for the Turks, our poet tells how Tancred, having garrisoned an abandoned monastery to guard against sorties from Antioch, fell one night upon an Armenian caravan bringing food to the Turkish garrison:

> De la montaigne issoient quatre cent marchéant,
> Tout sont Bougre, Hermin, Grieu et Suriant,
> Qui aportent vitaille del port Saint-Siméant,
> Si le vont présenter Garsion l'amirant,
> Tangres li fius Marquis lor vint esporonant,
> A cinq cent chevaliers, chascuns tient nu le branc;
> Ainc ne se deffendirent li Turc né tant né quant,
> Ceus enmainent loiés; l'avoir vont conduisant;
> Al castelet revienent; désarmé sont atant,
> Lor eschec vaut mil mars d'or fin arabiant. (I, 240-1)

Robert the Monk relates the same episode (*RHC, Occ.*, III, 794B), as does the Anonym

Unable to pay such exorbitant prices, the seigneurs were themselves obliged to stay their hunger with the crudest diet; more than one ate his horse — and that, after the mount, tortured by hunger, had itself champed to pieces the bit and reins.[59] Those barons who still had horses could lead foraging parties far from the famine-struck region. But such expeditions were increasingly unsuccessful, for the Turks carried away with them all livestock as they retreated.[60] The situation became so desperate, reports Fulcher of Chartres (*RHC*, *Occ.*, III, 341C), that some ate not only dogs and rats, but even the grains which they found in the excrement. Radulf of Caen (*ibid.*, 663D) relates that others descended into the fields, where they glutted themselves on hellebore and other deadly plants.

Such a situation was intolerable. One day, a delegation of *Tafurs* with their *roi* out in front, visited the tent of Peter the Hermit, seeking counsel as to how their suffering might be alleviated. The holy man, flattered by those over whom he had not too far in the past lost sway,[61] seized upon the occasion to recapture some ascendancy:

> Li rois Tafurs i vint, et moult de son barné,
> Plus en i ot de mil qui sont de faim enflé.
> "Sire, consilliés-moi, por sainte carité,
> "Por voir morons de faim et de caitiveté."
> Et respondi dans Pieres: "C'est par vo lasqueté;

(ed. Bréhier, p. 77): "Les Arméniens et les Syriens, voyant que les nôtres étaient revenus d'une expédition de ravitaillement les mains à peu près vides, se concertèrent pour parcourir les montagnes et la contrée dont on a parlé, y rechercher habilement et y acheter du blé et des aliments et les rapporter au camp où régnait une grande famine. Ils vendaient la charge d'un âne huit hyperpres, qui valaient 120 sous en deniers. Alors moururent beaucoup des nôtres qui n'avaient pas les moyens d'acheter aussi cher."

[59]
> Li chiers tans les avoit si durement soupris,
> Que par droite poverte menjoient les roncis.
> Li bon cheval d'Espaigne sont de fain si acquis,
> Lor chevestres menjuent et depecent lor pis.
> Bachelier et serjent, puceles aus cler vis
> Rompent lor garnemens et crient à haus cris...
> De l'angoisse de faim estoit chascuns palis. (I, 243)

See also the Anonym, ed. Bréhier, pp. 129, 139. When the Christian army came forth from Antioch to battle Kerbogha, they had, according to Radulf of Caen (*RHC*, *Occ.*, III, 670B-C) no more than 600 horses to oppose the innumerable Turkish cavalry. Concerning the poor, see W. Porges, *op. cit.*, 1-23.

[60] See *Ant.*, I, 242. Like details by the Anonym (ed. Bréhier, pp. 75-6): "Le sage Bohemond sortait alors de la terre des Sarrasins avec son armée et il arriva à la montagne de Tancrède, préoccupé d'y trouver quelque chose qui valût la peine d'être emporté, car toute la terre avait été mise à sac: quelques-uns y firent des trouvailles, les autres revinrent les mains vides... Il revint à son camp avec les siens, plus légers que chargés de butin." See also R. of Aguilers, *RHC*, *Occ.*, III, 245 C.

[61] See above n. 48.

"Alés, prenés ces Turs qui sont là mort jeté,
"Bon seront à mangier s'il sont cuit et salé."
Et dist li rois Tafurs: "Vous dites vérité"[62]

The advice was accepted. More than ten thousand strong,[63] the *Tafurs* descended to the banks of the *Ferne* (Oliferne, or Oronte) where shortly before a Turkish force had been annihilated. The ground was covered with enemy cadavers. The *Tafurs*:

Les Turs ont escorchiés, et la coraille osté,
Et en l'iave et en rost ont la char quisiné;
Assés en ont mengié, mais de pain n'ont gousté.
De ce furent Paien moult forment effréé. (II, 4)

And further:

Or est li rois Tafurs auques resvigotés,
Et il et sa compaigne dont il i ot assés.
A lor cotiaus qu'il ont trenchans et afilés,
Escorchoient les Turs, aval parmi les prés.
Voiant Paiens, les ont par pièces découpés.
En l'iave et el carbon les ont bien quisinés,
Volentiers les menjuent sans pain et dessalés;
Et dist li uns à l'autre: "Carnages est entrés,
"Mieus vaut de char de porc né de bacon ullés,
"Dahés ait qui morra, tant qu'il en ait assés." (II, 5)

Wondering what meat these beggars, known to be starving, might be roasting, the Turks, mounting the ramparts of Antioch, witnessed the macabre spectacle, and cried out with anguish (see II, 4).

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[62] *Ant.*, II, 3-4. The hermit's conduct here, in inciting the *Tafurs* to cannibalism, comes as no surprise. Some time later, we see him, in the company of others faint of heart, attempt to flee Antioch, encircled by Kerbogha's army; according to G. of Nogent (*RHC*, *Occ.*, IV, 174D-G) his defection was prompted by his not being able to eat according to the manner in which he was accustomed. On Peter's flight, see also: R. the Monk, *ibid.*, III, 781-2; the Anonym, ed. Bréhier, p. 77. Still later, in an attempt to redeem himself, we see this vainglorious fanatic, ever preoccupied with enhancing his legend, offer his services for a mission to the enemy camp (see *Ant.*, II, 170-6; Anonym, ed. Bréhier, pp. 147-51; R. the Monk, *RHC*, *Occ.*, III, 825A; G. of Nogent, *ibid.*, IV, 203F-204i). Hagenmeyer (*Le Vrai et le faux...*, p. 273) says, concerning the Christian emissaries: "Ce qui n'est point douteux, c'est qu'à leur retour et surtout après l'heureuse issue de la bataille du lendemain contre Corbaran, ils (Pierre et Herluin) aient dépeint leur propre conduite sous les couleurs les plus dramatiques. Ils ne pouvaient manquer de se vanter de leur hardiesse, de raconter qu'ils avaient peu tenu compte des cérémonies usitées dans ces sortes d'audiences et que leur langage avait vivement impressionné le païen: il fallait cette fanfaronnade pour donner et conserver à leur mission le caractère d'importance qu'ils voulaient lui attribuer." See also Yves Le Febvre, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Croisade* (Amiens 1946) p. 111 ff.

[63] "Plus furent de dis mil quant furent aüné" (II, 4). Of the other chroniclers who speak of the *Tafurs*, none gives any indication of their strength. Assuming that the figure is, if anything, on the liberal side, we can surmise that the *Tafurs* were definitely in the minority compared with the total numbers of indigent who had nothing to do with those barbarians.

The *roi des Tafurs* soon became aware of their presence. His cruel nature suggested a further barbarism: he ordered his men to the cemeteries[64] to exhume a few more Turks for the grisly feast. The plan was put to prompt execution:

> Tous ses ribaus assamble si les i a menés,
> Et vont aus chimiteres, s'ont les corps desterrés,
> Tout ensamble les ont en un mont assamblés,
> Trestous les porris ont dedens Ferne jetés
> Et les autres escorcent, au vent les ont hallés. (II, 6)

The Turks were not alone in witnessing the gruesome events which ensued. *Ricars li Pelerins* tells us that the barons, including those of highest station, hearing of the savagery, resolved to visit the site.[65] But for even such fearless soldiers, the unpredictable temperament of these cutthroats was something to be reckoned with, and they therefore took the precaution of first arming themselves: "Mais chascuns d'aus fu bien fervestis et armés" (II, 6).

How did the Christian chiefs consider such acts? If they did not approve these atrocities, they seem at least to have tolerated them,[66] for the demoralizing effects of such inhumanity. According to the poet, Godfrey of Bouillon went so far as to offer the *roi des Tafurs* a bottle of his best wine, in order that the meal might be yet more enjoyable:

> "Par foi," ce dist li rois, "moult sui bien conraés,
> "Sé jo avoie à boire, à mengier ai assés."
> Dist li dus de Buillon: "Dans rois, vous en aurés."
> De son bon vin li fu uns botels présentés,
> Li rois Tafurs en but, aus autres fu livrés. (II, 7-8)

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[64] They already knew well these places. The poet, as well as the chroniclers, tells us that the Crusaders had used the marble sarcophages found in the nearby cemeteries to construct a fortress, destined to guard against surprise sorties by the Antioch garrison (see *Ant.*, I, 235-9; details confirmed by R. the Monk, *RHC*, *Occ.*, III, 739A-B and the Anonym, ed. Bréhier, pp. 89, 97).

[65] The *Tafurs*, being largely of the same (Flemish) nationality, and having their own leader (*le roi des Tafurs*) camped by themselves and fought as a unit, as was the custom for the various national groups at the Crusade. The subject has been extensively treated by O. Heermann, *Die Gefechtsfürhung abendländischer Heere im Orient in der Epoche des ersten Kreuzzugs* (diss. Marburg 1887).

[66] "... riant li demandent: "Comment vous contenés?" (II, 7). But A. Adler's assertion (*op. cit.*, 164, n. 41) that Adhémar was a guest of the *Tafurs*, is untenable. The *Chanson* merely mentions him as being one of the several barons who arrived in the *Tafurs*' camp, after the evil deeds had already been done (see *Ant.*, II, 6). As for the atrocities practiced by the Turks against helpless Christian pilgrims and which served as a powerful *excitatorium* in preaching the Crusade, see G. of Nogent, *RHC*, *Occ.*, IV, 140C. Concerning barbarous practices of both Christian and Turk during the First Crusade, see A. Waas, *op. cit.*, 'Grausamkeit' pp. 380-6.

The ruler of Antioche, Yaghi-Siyan, protested vigorously to the Christian chiefs.[67] But the barons could not promise him that there would be no recurrences of cannibalism. In the words of Bohemond himself:

> ..."N'est mie par nos grés.
> "Ainc ne le comandasmes, jà mar le cuiderés.
> "C'est par le roi Tafur qui est lor avoués,
> "Une gent moult averse, saciés de verité;
> "Plus aiment char de Turc que poons empeurés:
> "Par nous tous ne puet estre li rois Tafurs domtés." (II, 9)

The last verse in particularly interesting. If it can be taken at its face value, we think immediately of the Lombard *pataria* of a half-century earlier who at once defended the Church and flaunted rather brazenly their independence in the face of the feudal barons. Organized by two militant priests about 1057, Landulf and Ariald,[68] to combat Norman ambitions in the papal state, heretics, and simoniac clergy, the movement soon abandoned words for arms. From 1064, the *pataria* definitely have the character of a military group and are led by one Erlembald, a pious knight of noble extraction, and by the Roman prefect Cencius, both of whom gain the martyr's palms (1075 and 1077) fighting the Emperor Henry IV.[69] The organization of the movement certainly suggests that of the *Tafurs* who, like the *pataria*, were a zealous, militant lay-group drawn from the lower classes and led by a leader of their own choosing, their "king", and who fought for a religious, rather than a political, cause. The extent to which the *pataria* defended the Church's interests can be adjudged by the fact that they were subsidized by Hildebrand and were lent the *vexillum sancti Petri* for their battle-standard.[70] Further parallels might be drawn between the vows of poverty of the *pataria* and those imposed on the *Tafurs* by their *roi*,[71] and also between the half-religious, half-military leadership of the *pataria* and the military and quasi-religious leadership given to the *Tafurs* by their *roi* in occasional collaboration with Peter the Hermit.[72]

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[67] The protest was lodged during a period when both sides were entering the preliminary phase of negotiations for a truce, with a view to exchanging prisoners (see *Ant.*, II, 9-26; 'Anselmi de Ribodi Monte ad Manassem Archiepiscopum Remensem Epistola.' *RHC, Occ.*, III, 892D).

[68] See C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 127-8. It is significant that Peter Damiani's *Liber Gomorrhianus* (ca. 1051) and *Liber Gratissimus*, as well as Humbert's *Tres Libri adversus Simoniacos* (ca. 1057) are contemporary of the movement. For an excellent commentary on Simon Magus in xith century Europe, see J. P. Whitney, 'Peter Damiani and Humbert,' *Cambridge Historical Journal*, I (1925) No. 3, 225-48. See also C. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-2.

[69] See C. Erdmann, *ibid.*, pp. 155, 197-8.

[70] See C. Erdmann, *ibid.*, pp. 129, 138. It is likely that the papal flag was carried for the first time by Leo IX's forces fighting the Normans in 1053 (*ibid.*, p. 166). According to the Milanese chronicler Arnulf (*MG. SS*, VII, 22, 28, cited by C. Erdmann, p. 167), it would appear certain that the "bellicum sancti Petri vexillum" was also carried in 1070 by Erlembald.

[71] See G. of Nogent, *RHC, Occ.*, IV, 242.

But here, any further *pataria-Tafur* relationship must undoubtedly stop. The fierce and utter independence of the latter, their acts of flesh-eating and their assaults on the Turkish women of Antioch,[73] would seem to put them in a class by themselves. And, of course, neither in the *Chanson d'Antioche* nor in any other chronicle of the First Crusade, do we find any detail to suggest that the *Tafurs* carried the papal banner nor that they wore any other distinguishing sign, save doubtless the cross burned on their foreheads and chests or worn on their tunics,[74] as did the other crusaders. Significantly, it is not they who have the honor of carrying the so-called "holy lance" in the battle against Kerbogha. According to the *Chanson*,[75] Adhémar of Puy had this distinction; according to the provençal chronicler Raymond of Aguilers,[76] he, Raymond, carried it himself.

Are these events, described by *Ricars li Pelerins*, credible? If there were no other testimony, we could make several conjectures. Fortunately, there are other testimonies, both by Christian and Moslem chroniclers of the Crusade, which prove that some Crusaders did eat human flesh.

The Anonym was one of the very few Latin chroniclers actually to witness the events described. A knight of modest station from the Norman states of Southern Italy, he served in the army of Bohemond. In his usual abrupt style, he speaks of certain events which occurred at Marrah, after the taking of the Turkish stronghold:

> Il y en eut parmi les nôtres qui ne trouvèrent pas là ce dont ils avaient besoin, tant par suite de la longueur de cet arrêt que par la difficulté de se nourrir, car, hors de la ville, ils ne pouvaient rien trouver à saisir. Alors ils sciaient les cadavres, parce qu'on découvrait des besants cachés dans leur ventre; d'autres découpaient leurs chairs en morceaux et les faisaient cuire pour les manger.[77]

Fulcher of Chartres, the chaplain of Baldwin of Bouillon, also mentions the cannibalism of the *ribauds* at the siege of Marrah: "Dicere perhorreo quod plerique nostrum famis rabie nimis vexati, abscidebant de natibus Sarracenorum jam ibi mortuorum frusta quae coquebant et mandebant, et parum ad ignem assata ore truci devorabant." [78]

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[72] See above, quote 62. In *Ant.*, we often see them together: I, 135; 202; II, 3-4, 127, 221, 229, 254-5. Likewise in *Jérus.* (p. 230, v. 5797): "Li rois Tafurs i fu et Perres ensement."

[73] See *Ant.*, II, 127 and *Jérus.*, pp. 178-9, v. 4486-4492, quoted above.

[74] It would appear that this tradition had its origins at the Battle of Cerami (1063), in the army of Roger II of Sicily (see C. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3).

[75] *Ant.*, II, 256.

[76] *RHC, Occ.*, III, 261A.

[77] Ed. Bréhier, p. 179. Let us note in passing that nowhere in the Christian chronicles of the Crusade does one find any mention of an act of cannibalism committed by Turk against Crusader.

Although not himself a participant in the Crusade, Guibert of Nogent heard from various sources about the exploits of the *Tafurs* and their *roi*. He reports that rumor would have honest men believe that at the siege of Marrah some Crusaders actually ate the flesh of fallen enemies:

> Praeterea, quum de Paganorum corporibus frusta carnium apud Marram, et sicubi alias, quum nimia fames urgeret, repperirentur adempta, quod ab his et furtim, et quam rarissime factum constat, atrox apud Gentiles fama percrebuit, quod quidam in Francorum exercitu haberentur qui Sarracenorum carnibus avidissime vescerentur. Unde idem homines, ut potissimum apud illos haec intonuisset opinio, Turci cujusdam vecti corpus intusum, ad eorum terrorem, palam omnibus, ut dicitur, ac si carnem mandibilem, igni apposito torruerunt. Quo illi agnito, et verum penitus quod fingitur autumantes, jam magis insolentiam Tafurum quam nostrorum, quodam modo, principum vehementiam formidabant.[79]

However, as P. Paris was first to point out,[80] would the *Tafurs* not have already done likewise at the siege of Antioch, where the famine was infinitely worse and of longer duration? Further, the almost-frantic manner in which the Abbé de Nogent seeks to dispel this vicious *ouï-dire*,[81] would seem to suggest that it was generally believed by a large number of his contemporaries.

The Moslem historians, too, tell of the same acts of cannibalism. While Kamâl ad-dîn and Ibn al-Athîr do not record the details of these atrocities, their language leaves no doubt as to the historical validity of the events: "Treize jours s'étaient écoulés depuis que les Francs étaient entrés dans Antioche. Ils n'avaient plus de quoi manger; les riches étaient réduits à se nourrir de bêtes de somme, et les pauvres de corps morts et de feuilles d'arbres." [82]

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[78] *RHC, Occ.*, 352B-C. Details substantiated by Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa (see H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes* [Innsbruck, 1901], p. 170), and by R. of Aguilers (*RHC, Occ.*, III, 271F-G): "Interea tanta fames in exercitu fuit, ut multa corpora Sarracenorum jam foetentium, quae in paludibus civitatis ejusdem per duas hebdomadas et amplius jacuerant, populus avidissime comederet."

[79] *RHC. Occ.*, IV, 242D-F.

[80] *Ant.*, II, 294, n. 1. In one of the twelve assonanced couplets at the end of the poem (unaltered vestiges of the primitive *Antioche*), the author likewise speaks of further cannibalism committed at the siege of Marrah:

Et vienent à la Mare où grant paine soffrirent...
D'asnes et de camels lor i covint à vivre,...
Et d'autres bestes mues; poi ont blé et ferines;
Auquant menjuent Turs, tex qu'il poent eslire. (II, 293-4)

[81] "Ut dicitur" (see above, quote 79). Guibert hastens to add that, in any case, such acts were committed rarely and always clandestinely (*RHC, Occ.*, IV, 214B-C). See H. Glaesener, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[82] Ibn al-Athîr, *RHC, Or.*, I, 194. Kamâl ad-dîn, *ibid.*, III, 583: "... ils (les Francs, assiégés à Antioche) étaient réduits à manger la chair des cadavres et des animaux morts."

Next, let us consider briefly other pertinent historico-literary sources. The acts of cannibalism at Antioch are also narrated in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*,[83] a vast Castilian work of the 13th century embracing versions of the Crusade Cycle poems and of *Berthe*, *Mainet*, and *Flore et Blanchefleur*. In the Spanish compilation, the *Tafurs* ask Peter to give them his donkey to eat. He refuses, and recommends instead that they eat some of the dead Turks, reinforcing this suggestion with Biblical approbation:

> "... é él (Pedro el Ermitano), como era gran clérigo, comenzóles á facer su sermon de cómo nuestro Señor mandara en la nueva ley, por el su apóstel san Pablo, que todas las cosas que hallasen cuando menester les fuese, que las santiguasen é las comiesen; é ellos que hallarian allí mucha carne de aquellos moros que mataban, que podrian comer, que era mucho mas sana que la de los asnos. E tanto les dijo por este lugar, que ellos fueron ende muy ledos; é dejáronse luego correr á los moros que estaban muertos por los campos, é tajábanles las cabezas é poníanlas á une parte, é desmembrábanlos todas, é asaron é cocieron dellos, é hicieron muy grandes cocinas... (XLIV, 211)[84]

Mention should also be made of the short fragment of the *Canso d'Antiochia*, remains of a Provençal *Chanson d'Antioche* dating from about the end of the 12th century.[85] It is true that there is no mention therein of the *Tafurs*, although the poet does mention Flemish, Frisians and Brabantines (vv. 559, 637). However, if Paul Meyer's conjecture is correct, that: "On peut tenir pour certain qu'il (le fragment) commençait avec les premiers événements de la croisade et pour vraisemblable qu'il se continuait jusqu'à la prise de Jérusalem,"[86] we may surmise that some role, perhaps one as important as that in the *Conquista*, was given to the *Tafurs* in the Provençal poem's original form.

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[83] Not before 1271; see *Conquista*, ed. Gayangos, lib. IV, p. 659, col. II.

[84] As for the composition of the *Conquista*, G. Paris ('La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar,' *Romania*, XVII [1888], 513-541; *ibid.*, XIX [1890], 562-591; *ibid.*, XXII [1893], 345-363) was the first to prove that its principal source was the chronicle of the Eracle, continuer of William of Tyre, but that the Spanish author had also used as source material a "Chanson d'Antioche" (probably that of *Ricars li pelerins*) and the longer Provençal poem of G. Béchada of which we have but a small fragment. G. Northrup ('La Gran Conquista de Ultramar and its problems,' *Hispanic Review* [Phila., 1934], pp. 287-303) gives therein a most useful tabular representation of the *Conquista* and its sources. He believes (p. 294) that the Spanish translator drew from both the original text of R. the Pilgrim and from the Graindor de Douai reworking. According to W. Tiedau (*Die Geschichte der Chanson d'Antioche des Richard le Pèlerin und des Graindor de Douay* [diss. Göttingen 1912] p. 9) the source of Graindor, *trouvère* of *La Chanson d'Antioche*, was the *Conquista*; the latter, he says, was the first version of R. the Pilgrim's original poem. Tiedau's hypothesis is absolutely untenable and nowhere in his thesis does he prove his point.

[85] Edited by P. Meyer, in *AOL*, II (1884) 467-509. G. Paris ('La Chanson d'Antioche provençale...,' *Romania*, XXII 359-362) believes that the Provençal fragment was based largely on a lost poem of the Limousine knight-poet Gregory Béchada.

[86] *AOL*, II (1884) 467.

On exactly how many occasions such acts of cannibalism were perpertrated by the Crusaders is not known. But it is interesting to note that another poem of the Crusade Cycle, la *Chanson de Jérusalem* (probably due to Graindor, but most certainly not to Richard the Pilgrim[87]) recalls in several places the savage events at Antioch. For instance, the scene where Godfrey of Bouillon parades the *Tafurs* before the Turkish prisoners, Cornumarant and Marbrin:

> Li rois Tafurs i fu et Perres ensement:
> Chascuns porte .I. fausart, dont li achiers resplent.
> Li Ribaut regardoient les Turs iriement,
> Lor machures crolloient et rechignent lor dent.
> Dist Marbrins: "Par Mahon! fox est qui ces atent!
> "Bien resemblent diaule, ysdeus sont durement!
> "Qui cist atainderont livré sont à torment;
> "Je quit ce sont diaule, ou luiton, ou serpent.
> "Tot sont d'une sanblance, bien resanblent parent!"
> Che dist Cornumarans: "Chist manjuent no gent!"...
> Quant Marbrins l'entendi, si grans péors le prent,...
> Ne volsist iluec estre por tot l'or d'Orient." (vv. 5797-5809)

In a somewhat later episode, the rôles are reversed, and now it is Peter the Hermit who is prisoner of the Turks:

> C. et .L. roi, persant et esclavon,
> Siéent aval le tref; tot regardent Perron,
> Son cors et sa faiture, son vis et sa fachon;
> Et dist li .I. à l'autre: "Bien sanble cist felon
> "Ch'est de cex qui menjuent les nos sor le carbon;
> "Plus a trenchans les dens c'alesne, ne ponçon:
> "Voiés com il requigne et fronchist le grenon!" (*ibid.*, vv. 6424-30)

In still another allusion to the acts of cannibalism of the *Tafurs*, the Turkish messenger Gomelin considers himself fortunate not to have been killed and eaten:

> Moult demaine grant joie, quant lor a eschapé,
> Que li Ribaut ne l'ont mengié et estranlé;
> Mahomet Gomelin[88] en a moult aoré. (*ibid.*, vv. 6766-68)

And we find a comparable allusion in the *Compilation de Bruxelles*.[89] As the Crusaders resume their march toward Jerusalem, the reputation of the *Tafurs* precedes them. Arriving at the Holy City, the emir Cornumarant warns his father, Corbadas, about them:

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[87] Chronologically speaking, the poem follows *Antioche*; however, in no wise can it be attributed to *Ricars li pèlerins* (see H. Pigeonneau, *op. cit.* [St-Cloud 1877] p. 48 ff.).

[88] Concerning the names "Gomelin", "Jumelin", used with Mahon, Mahom, Mahum, Mahomet, see E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de geste imprimées* (Paris 1904) pp. 416-7.

[89] Reiffenberg, *Monuments...*, V 471-2, vv. 16738-16750.

> ... ce dist ly roys: "Moult les doit-on douter,
> "Et s'ont fait ly François par deçà amener
> "Une gent qui en piet n'ont chause ne sorler:
> "Il ont à nom Taffurs, sy les oy nommer.
> "Quant il prendent noz gens il les font décopper,
> "Et en une caudire boulir et escauder;
> "Et ne demandent el quant il doivent digner:
> "Il y font uns fors aus qu'il aiment à humer."
> "Mahom", dist Corbadas, "j'en ay oït parler.
> "A Andioche firrent, s'y com j'ouïs conter;
> "Ly Sarrasin n'osoient contre iaux aventurer."

The utterly demoralizing effects of such savage acts on the Turks can be estimated from an allusion found in the "continuer" of William of Tyre, the "Eracle", who tells us of certain measures taken by Bohemond, during the siege of Antioch by the Crusaders, to rid the army of the spies who infested it. The episode may well be, at the same time, a further proof of the acts of cannibalism already mentioned:

> Il (Bohémond) ot mandé les bouchers de sa terre, et fist trere Turcs qu'il avoit en prison; si les leur bailla; cil leur coupèrent les gueules et les enfondrèrent et les atornèrent por rostir. L'en commença à demander que ce estoit. Buiemont l'ot dit à sa mesniée et cil le distrent aus autres, que tuit li baron avoient einsi créanté entr'eus que toutes les espiés que l'en porroit prendre en l'ost, l'en les rostiroit et serviroit l'en aus tables aus barons, et en mangeroient li baron par leur créant. La parole s'espandit par l'ost que l'en faisoit tel chose; tuit corurent veoir cele merveille. Li Turc meismes qui estoient venu pour espier, quant ils virent ce, si furent mout espoentez; et fu tart à chascun qu'il se fust partiz des héberges porce que il doutoient que l'en ne feist autretel d'eus. Quant il revenoient à leur seigneurs qui les avaient envoiez, il leur disoient et espandoient par toute sa terre que cele gent qui estoient à siège devant Antioche estoient plus durs que roche ne que fers, de cruauté passoient ils ours et lyons, car les bestes sauvages menjoient les genz toutes crues, mès cil les rostissent avant et puis les déveurent. Ceste parole fu si espandue par toute la paiennerie que oncques puis ne porent trouver li soudans ne li granz amirauz qui leur alast espier l'ost.[90]

Finally, it should be noted that these acts were not without precedent. The fathers of most of the French crusaders could remember the famine of 1031. A contemporary, Raoul Glaber, reports that so terrible was the calamity, that cannibalism was rife. Packs of starving cannibals roamed the forests, pouncing on helpless travelers. Children ware lured by promises of food into remote places where they were killed and devoured. Even the dead were disinterred and eaten. Cannibalism was so widely practiced that some butchers dressed human flesh and sold it in the market places.[91]

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[90] *RHC, Occ.*, I, 82.

It would have been a contradiction of human nature if the conduct of all the crusaders had constantly done honor to the noble ideal which had prompted them to sew on the Cross. The enterprise was of such universal appeal that it was bound to attract a certain number of brigands, adventurers, and rabble of various sorts. The latter, unlike the vast majority of the poor, cared little about liberating the Holy Land and saw the Crusade primarily as a mandate to take advantage of a liberty such as they had never before enjoyed. They, like the ambitious barons, were a law unto themselves and had the fiery ideal of the Crusade been dependent on their peculiar zeal, Jerusalem might well never have been conquered.

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[91] Rodulfus Glaber, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris 1880) CXLII, 676 col. II. For a more recent parallel (ca. 1482) concerning certain tasty meatpies made in Bruges, see C. Popp, *Récits et légendes des Flandres* (Bruxelles 1890), 'Bruges souterrain,' pp. 239-248.

The Personnel of Mediaeval Reform: The English Lords Ordainers of 1310

JOHN H. TRUEMAN

THEY were, so many historians have felt, singularly unattractive men. But perhaps there are those among the English Lords Ordainers of 1310 who have been victims of guilt by association. Perhaps an examination of their careers will serve as a salutary corrective to the easy assumption that in "Edward II's time, public men were mediocre or worse".[1]

The twenty-one Lords Ordainers elected in March 1310 came to their office under letters patent of the king, which gave authority "of our free will" to draw up ordinances for the reform of the state and household.[2] Those chosen for the great task represented a variety of opinion, though it has often been noted in the traditional accounts of the reign that no thoroughgoing partisan of the king could hope for election as an Ordainer. The form of election itself was extremely cumbersome. The archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates elected two earls — Lincoln and Pembroke. The earls elected two bishops — London and Salisbury. These four then elected two barons — Hugh de Veer and William le Marshal. Finally, the six electors co-opted fifteen other Ordainers — five prelates, six earls, and four barons. The total roster of Ordainers was as follows: the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Salisbury, Chichester, Norwich, St. David's, and Llandaff; all the earls present at the meeting — Lincoln, Lancaster, Pembroke, Gloucester, Hereford, Richmond, Arundel, and Warwick; and as baronial representatives, Hugh de Veer, William le Marshal, Robert Fitzroger, Hugh de Courtenay, William Martin, and John de Grey.[3]

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[1] A. B. White, *The Making of the English Constitution, 449-1485* (2nd ed. rev., N. Y., 1925), p. 283. Stubbs lamented the moral dissoluteness of Edward's reign: *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development* (4th ed., Oxford, 1896), II, 323. Most modern historians have struck the same note. J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II: Its Character and Policy* (Cambridge, 1918), p. 76 is the most extreme: "Some of the characters of the reign have had their apologists... not a single baron or bishop has been justified." T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (2nd ed. revised by H. Johnstone, Manchester, 1936), p. 21, while admitting that the leaders of Edward II's reign were "markedly inferior" yet cannot admit "the decadence of the age". H. Johnstone's survey in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII (Cambridge, 1932), 433 refused "to stress the personal aspects" of the reign, preferring instead to concentrate on the continuity with the preceding reign.

The Ordainers have only recently begun to be rehabilitated. B. Wilkinson, concentrating on their parliamentary sympathies, has suggested that Edward's opposition has been unjustly blackened: *The Constitutional History of England, 1216-1399; with Select Documents:* Vol. II, *Politics and the Constitution, 1307-1399* (London, Toronto, New York, 1952), pp. 10-11. The most succinct revisionist opinion is that of V. H. H. Green, *The Later Plantagenets* (London, 1955), p. 116: Edward's "baronial opponents have had too bad a press. In much they may have been the selfish representatives of their own class interests, wanting to limit the royal power and to dominate the council in order to serve their own ends, but some at least believed in parliamentary action and were ready on occasions to cultivate the commons. It has been said that the barons did not really understand what they were doing, but the fourteenth-century baronage contained intelligent and cultured men who could always refer to skilled clerks. The language of their claims may seem indefinite, but there is no reason to suppose that they or their clerks did not exercise some care in drafting documents, nor that they did not have definite ends in view."

[2] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* [henceforth cited as *C.P.R.*] (1307-13), p. 215; *Foedera*, II, i, 105. The letters patent were drawn up in French and seven copies were made.

As yet there is no comprehensive account of the lives and careers of these twenty-one men. Tout has many incidental remarks of great value for the lives of prominent members of Edward's baronage, but these remarks are widely scattered. Davies has contributed an essay on the "personal aspect of the reign" which is full of useful information.[4] And the introductions which Stubbs wrote to his edition of the *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* for the Rolls Series[5] remain, in some respects, unsurpassed as an account of the crises of the latter half of Edward II's reign. However, not all of the Ordainers find a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and many of those who do are dealt with in a manner which does not prove helpful in appreciating their position as Ordainers. This paper, therefore, proposes to treat briefly the careers of the three groups among the Ordainers — prelates, earls, and barons — up to the year 1311, or beyond it in the few cases where a particular Ordainer's career is ended soon after that date. References are to sources already in print.

The best sources of information about the Ordainers are the great series of chancery enrolments begun in 1199 by Hubert Walter or his master.[6] The official bias of the records may be offset by the chronicles, which were written by men who had not the same passion as the chancery clerks to minimize elements of novelty.[7] Fortunately there are complete calendars of the various rolls kept in the chancery, and the bulk of the information on the Ordainers has been drawn from them. Thus the calendars of the *Charter, Patent, Close* and *Fine Rolls*, as well as the calendar of *Chancery Warrants* and that of *Papal Letters* have been ransacked for entries bearing on the Ordainers.[8]

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[3] *Annales Londonienses* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II* [henceforth cited as *Chronicles*], I (ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1882), 172; also Cant. Cath. MS. K. 11, m. 2d., cited in Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, p. 361, n. 2.

[4] Chapter III of *Baronial Opposition*, pp. 75-115; cf. Tout, *Place of Edward II*, pp. 8-23.

[5] 2 vols., London, 1882 and 1883. The most recent commentary on the chronicles of Edward II's reign, and on one in particular, is that of John Taylor, 'The French "Brut" and the Reign of Edward II,' *English Historical Review*, LXII (1957), 423-437.

[6] Hubert usually gets the credit, as in V. H. Galbraith, *Studies in the Public Records* (London, 1948), pp. 11-12; but a case has recently been made out for King John himself: Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 93-94.

I

The bishops of the early fourteenth century have not been pictured as high-minded men. Stubbs could say very little in defence of Edward II's bishops — "some of whom were distinctly evil men, and the great majority weak ones."[9] Modern research has, however, not been under the necessity of supporting the political pretensions of the bishops, as the chroniclers often were, and a more balanced picture of them has resulted. Edward II's bishops had a great opportunity for political leadership, and their individual personalities responded to the call in varying ways. The king's clerks promoted to the episcopate in the early part of the reign were mostly men who had been trained in the wardrobe, or the chancery, or the exchequer. And they were — despite the chroniclers' castigations — for the most part men of no little learning.[10] The most famous of the bishops of Edward II was that doughty warrior Archbishop Robert Winchelsey, described by Stubbs as "probably the ablest man who had sat at Canterbury since Langton."[11]

Winchelsey's early career marked him out as a scholar. In 1267 he was rector of the University of Paris and in 1288 chancellor of Oxford. In 1283 he had been canon of St. Paul's. On 13 February 1293 he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, left Dover on 1 April 1293, refused a cardinal's hat in Rome, and was finally confirmed by Celestine V on 6 September 1294. He arrived back in Yarmouth on New Year's Day 1295.[12] His devotion was marked. "He attended the canonical hours as regularly as a monk. He frequently shut himself up for prayer and meditation, and, as his intimates suspected, for severe corporal discipline. His charity and almsgiving were magnificent."[13] Winchelsey was constantly striving to increase the number and zeal of the monks.[14] It is hardly surprising that such an energetic and pious man soon fell foul of the king.

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[7] Galbraith, *Studies in the Public Records*, p. 17. Note also Galbraith's judicious comments on the monarchical, as opposed to the baronial, sympathies of modern historians of the reign of Edward I and later: *ibid.*, pp. 142-143. Incidentally, the attempt to harmonize the evidence of medieval chronicles and records is said to be "perhaps the most severe historical discipline to which anyone can submit himself:" *ibid.*, p. 17.

[8] On the "calendar" system see V. H. Galbraith, *An Introduction to the Use of the Public Records* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 73-75, and *Studies in the Public Records*, p. 21. See also Tout, *Place of Edward II*, pp. 1-2.

[9] *Chronicles*, I, cxvi. Tout and Davies have concurred: *Place of Edward II*, pp. 19, 21; *Baronial Opposition*, pp. 75-115. Davies rather oddly omits bishops from his discussion of the personal aspects of the reign despite his blanket condemnation of them on p. 76.

[10] See K. Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning in the Reign of Edward II,' *Church Quarterly Review*, CXXXVIII (1944), 57-86.

[11] *Chronicles*, I, ci.

[12] On his early career see A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A.D. 1282-1302* (Oxford Historical Society, XCVI, 1934), 103; and Rose Graham, 'Arch-

On 20 March 1297 Winchelsey and the other prelates assembled at London were cautioned against "anything which may be ordained in their assembly to the king's prejudice."[15] This prohibition was repeated in August 1297 and October 1299.[16] But Winchelsey joined in the ecclesiastical and baronial quarrels of Edward I's declining years with a cry for the confirmation of the Charters.[17] This, combined with his attack on Walter Langton, earned Winchelsey the undying hatred of Edward I, and the quarrel was brought into the open by a series of painful incidents. When despite Edward's prohibition the archbishop attempted to visit the king's free chapel of Hastings, the king finally lost all restraint, and, "being unable to bear with equanimity such insolence and such enormous wrongs," ordered the archbishop to answer to him.[18] In 1306 the king made a series of grave charges against Winchelsey, who was suspended and summoned to Rome by Clement V.[19] The archbishop did not return to England till a new king reigned, suspension being removed by papal letters on 22 January 1308.[20] Although he failed to participate in Edward II's coronation,[21] he was back in England in April 1308, and by No-

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bishop Winchelsey: From His Election to His Enthronement,' *Church Quarterly Review*, CXLVIII (1949), 161-175.

[13] T. F. Tout in *D.N.B.*, LXII (1900), 156.

[14] *Historical Manuscripts Commission; Fifth Report* (London, 1876), I, 446: two letters, one of 14 June 1297 to the prior of Canterbury and another on 15-21 September 1298, to increase the number of monks and to improve discipline in Christ Church.

[15] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 244.

[16] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 451.

[17] See *Calendar of the Close Rolls* [henceforth cited as *C.C.R.*] (1296-1302), pp. 408-409. On 9 April 1301 he was barred from entering Hastings castle without the king's permission: *ibid.*, p. 442. A number of incidents are recorded on the close rolls of the archbishop's quarrels with the king: see *ibid.*, pp. 526, 582; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), pp. 72, 191, 224, 225.

[18] *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 326 (20 April 1305).

[19] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 153-162. On 18 April his goods were seized: *Calendar of the Fine Rolls* [henceforth cited as *C.F.R.*], I (1272-1307), p. 536; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 375: on 10 April he and his household were permitted to leave England but not to take any gold or silver vessels, or silver in mass, or money out of the kingdom.

[20] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* [henceforth cited as *C.P.L.*], II (1305-42), p. 33.

[21] He was ordered to attend on 9 February 1308: *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 52. See K. Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops during the Reign of Edward II,' *English Historical Review*, LIX (1944), 315-316. As late as 22 January he expected to preside at the coronation: *C.P.L.*, II (1305-42), p. 33.

vember his goods in Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, in excess of his debts, were restored.[22]

Winchelsey returned to England as a "determined political leader." His first official act seems to have been to threaten Gaveston with excommunication if he was not out of the kingdom by 25 June.[23] A mission was sent to Avignon in March 1309, however, to work for Gaveston's recall,[24] the outcome being a papal bull repealing the sentence against Gaveston. This the king read to Winchelsey in London on 11 June. The archbishop expressed his opposition by fixing the consecration of John Droxford, bishop of Bath and Wells, at Canterbury to coincide with the parliament summoned to Stamford for July 1309. The king quickly ordered the consecration postponed;[25] but the fearful Droxford himself preferred to miss his own consecration rather than offend his temporal lord. He and Bishop Woodlock went to Stamford, where Gaveston's recall was witnessed by four other bishops — Anthony Bek, John de Langton, Ralph Baldock, and Walter Reynolds.[26] At least four bishops did not prefer to go to Stamford.[27]

On the appointment of the Ordainers, Winchelsey made it clear that the episcopal ordainers would not give up their fight for the claims of the church, and contemporary opinion regarded him as the leader of the reforming movement. He presided over a meeting of bishops at the inn of Walter Langton, where the bishops solemnly swore to uphold the Ordinances:[28] all who infringed them were to be excommunicated. On his third return from exile Gaveston was publicly denounced at St. Paul's in the spring of 1312.[29] The next year, the moderating influence of the archbishop was removed. He died on 11 May 1313, and it was only natural that the remaining Ordainers should press for his canonization.[30]

Stubbs' charge that Winchelsey's was a Roman and not an English point of view is difficult to sustain in view of his political leadership from 1307 to 1313.[31] Indeed, his pontificate was perhaps the greatest single political challenge to Edward II in the years up to 1311, and for this reason the career of Winchelsey has been dealt with here at some length. The other episcopal ordainers may be treated much more briefly.

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[22] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 83, 84.

[23] *Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita Edwardi II* in *Chronicles*, II, 159; *Foedera*, II, i, 59; *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 154-155.

[24] *Foedera*, II, i, 68-69. The mission included John Salmon, bishop of Norwich, and Walter Reynolds, bishop of Worcester.

[25] *Calendar of Chancery Warrants* [henceforth cited as *C. Ch. W.*], I (1244-1326), p. 291.

[26] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 226.

[27] These were Simon of Ghent, David Martin (St. David's), Richard Swinfield (Hereford), and Robert Orford (Ely).

[28] *Register of Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 1308-1313* (ed. R. A. Wilson, Worcestershire Historical Society, 1927), p. 16.

[29] Malmesbury in *Chronicles*, II, 175; *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 203.

[30] The request was repeated in 1328 by Edward III's first parliament: *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, 7, 11.

[31] *Constitutional History*, II, 438.

Ralph Baldock's early life is obscure. In 1294 he was archdeacon of Middlesex and the next year dean of St. Paul's.[32] On 23 February 1304 he was elected bishop of London, and in 1306 and 1307 was one of the collectors of the papal tenth levied by Clement V in aid of the Holy Land.[33] He enforced the resumption of theological lectures in his cathedral school and was himself a well educated man, being appointed chancellor on 21 April 1307 and holding the office until 2 August of the same year.[34] A few weeks before this appointment he had probably become a member of the council.

In December 1307 he swore fealty to the new king through John de Langton,[35] yet on 15 October 1309 he was forbidden to "proceed to the execution of certain unusual and unheard of letters that are being brought into the kingdom for him and others to execute concerning lands and chattels that are not of will or marriages."[36] Anything he had already done by virtue of these letters he was to revoke. In June 1310 he was ordered to raise supplies in London for the Scottish war, and in December was summoned to the next session of the king's council.[37] In May 1313 he was called to London to discuss Scottish affairs.[38] He died at Stepney on 4 July 1313 and was buried in St. Paul's. During his life he wrote a history of England, and collected the statutes and customs of St. Paul's, both works unfortunately being lost sometime after the sixteenth century.[39] Baldock, then, was a ministerial bishop who had defied Winchelsey and gone to Stamford in 1309. His life does not appear to have had significant importance for the reign of Edward II.

Simon of Ghent (or Gandavo) was a strong baronial adherent. He was born in London — *editus Londoniis* —[40] about 1240 and had family connections with the Low Countries. Archdeacon of Oxford from 1284 to 1297, he was elected chancellor of Oxford on 17 December 1291, an office he held till November 1293. In 1295 he was one of the arbiters in a dispute between Winchelsey and Gilbert de Clare.[41] He had been a pupil of Winchelsey's, and when he was elected bishop of Salisbury on 2 June 1297 he insisted on the revival of theological teaching at Salisbury. Trevet describes him as *vir magnae scientiae et eximiae sanctitatis.*[42] His translation of the *Ancren Riwle* into Latin has been described as "the work of a scholar and a good editor."[43] A charming entry a year before his death shows his great concern for the proper training of the young, for he established a school at Salisbury for fourteen choir boys of the church and appointed a master to instruct them in grammar.[44]

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[32] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 121, 177, 178.

[33] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), pp. 428, 429; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 532.

[34] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 519.

[35] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 49.

[36] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 234, to archbishops and other bishops. Is this related to an order by the king and council on 1 August 1309 to Robert de Kendale, constable of Devon and warden of the cinque ports? — "to search all persons bringing papal letters into the kingdom to the prejudice of the king's crown and to send such letters to the king's council at London by a trusty servant:" *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 173. In August 1309 the Pope wrote to the king urging him "to listen to the church and not to his councillors and officials:" *C.P.L.*, II (1305-42), p. 78.

[37] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 265, 338.

[38] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 584.

[39] H. A. Tipping in *D.N.B.*, III (1885), 28.

[40] *Flores Historiarum* (ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, 1890), III, 103.

As one of Winchelsey's most trusted lieutenants, Simon of Ghent was very much in the thick of public affairs, and at the coronation of 25 February 1308 he acted as Winchelsey's deputy in crowning the king. He was also ready to support the archbishop in whatever policy Winchelsey chose with regard to the publication of the papal revocation of Gaveston's sentence.[45] His *Register* shows his preference for a quiet life on his estates, a quiet life often denied him, for the arduous duties of his diocese broke his health in 1309 so that he did not go to Stamford or to the consecration of Droxford. In June 1310 he was appointed in Wiltshire to raise supplies for the king's expedition to Scotland; but on 18 August he still had not complied and the king reproved him for his tardiness.[46] Possibly it was because of his illness that Simon drops from sight after the crowning incident of his life — the proclamation of the Ordinances in St. Paul's churchyard on 27 September 1311.[47] We hear of his being asked for a loan of 400 marks for the Scottish war in July 1313,[48] then of his death on 2 April 1314. He was buried in his cathedral. He had been one of Winchelsey's staunchest supporters against the king,[49] and had an unquestioned reputation for just dealing.

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[41] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 152.

[42] Nicholas Trevet, *Annales sex regum Angliae, 1135-1307* (ed. T. Hog, English Historical Society, London, 1845), p. 353.

[43] Edwards, 'Bishops and Learning,' p. 66. Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians*, pp. 206-15 print a sermon of his preached at Oxford on Ash Wednesday, 11 February 1293. "The artificial form of the sermon is entirely put in the background by the content." (p. 206).

[44] *C.P.R.* (1313-17), p. 112 (6 May 1314).

[45] *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo Diocesis Saresbiriensis, A.D. 1297-1315* (ed. C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes, Canterbury and York Society, 1934), I, 316-317.

[46] *Reg. Simonis de Gandavo*, I, 394; *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 266, 278.

[47] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, p. 455.

[48] *C.C.R.* (1313-18), p. 67.

[49] *Reg. Simonis de Gandavo*, I, 361-362 transcribes the preliminary Ordinances of March 1310.

John de Langton spent his early life as a "simple clerk of chancery,"[50] and before 1286 was keeper of the rolls of chancery.[51] In 1292 when he succeeded Burnell as chancellor (an office he held till 1302),[52] the use of the privy seal was greatly extended.[53] In 1298 he had been a candidate in the see of Ely, but Pope Boniface quashed his election and on 3 April 1305 he was elected bishop of Chichester.

There is no doubt that Langton was a strong partisan of Edward I. In July 1299 he was given permission to hold two benefices, and the king "thinks him worthy of far greater honour."[54] The same year the king described him in a letter to the Pope as "not only useful but indispensable."[55] At Edward II's coronation he carried the chalice, being chancellor again between 1307 and 1310.[56] What drove him into opposition in 1310 is not clear, but the appointment of Walter Reynolds as chancellor on 6 July 1310 seems to have been against the wishes of the Ordainers,[57] and it was 1313 before Langton was again drawn into the administration.

John Salmon, the prior of Ely, was chosen bishop of that see in 1298 but was opposed by John de Langton, the later bishop of Chichester. Both candidates were set aside by the Pope, and on 15 July 1299 Salmon was appointed bishop of Norwich by papal provision. A mandate to restore his temporalities was issued on 19 October 1299, after he had come to the king and promised not to do anything "prejudicial to the king and his dignity," as letters from Pope Boniface had seemed to threaten something untoward.[58] Salmon was at the court of the Pope in 1305, and was also in the king's service overseas. In 1307 he was employed in negotiating Edward's marriage.[59] In March 1309 he was granted £ 100 for his expenses as the king's envoy to the Pope,[60] an important mission whose objective was the papal revocation of the banishment of Gaveston.[61] From August 1311 till September 1311 he was again on a mission for the king in Gascony.[62] Evidently his part in drafting the Ordinances between March 1310 and August 1311 cannot have been arduous. With his return to England in the autumn of 1311 Salmon began a rôle as a loyal supporter of the king — but one respected by the barons.

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[50] *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, A.D. 1-1297* in *Annales Monastici* (ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 5 vols., London, 1864-69), III, 373.

[51] *C.P.R.* (1281-92), p. 242.

[52] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals*, VI (Manchester, 1933), 6-7.

[53] Tout, *Chapters*, II, 78.

[54] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 428.

[55] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 296.

[56] Tout, *Chapters*, VI, 7.

[57] *Annales Paulini* in *Chronicles*, I, 296.

[58] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 442.

[59] *Foedera*, II, i, 11.

[60] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 104, 198; *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 106.

[61] *Ann. Paul.* in *Chronicles*, I, 267.

[62] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 276, 338; *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 269, 376, 418.

David Martin, one of the two Welsh bishops chosen as Ordainers, was connected with a powerful baronial family. He was the fifth son of Nicholas Fitz Martin, lord of Cameis in Pembrokeshire. Martin was elected bishop of St. David's in June 1293, receiving royal assent on 28 July;[63] but his consecration did not finally take place until December 1296 when, after summoning him to Rome, the Pope preferred him to be bishop of St. David's.[64] In his absence in Rome he had been granted on 4 August 1295 the forfeitures "of all his Welshmen and tenants lately in arms against the king."[65] In December 1299, he was ordered along with the bishop of Llandaff to attend the parliament to be held in London "to do and consent to what shall then be ordained by the king's council."[66] However it was 1313 before be began to take much of a part in the administration.

The other Welsh bishop elected an Ordainer was John de Monmouth of Llandaff. He had probably been a bachelor under Winchelsey who had presided at his vesperies (1289-90), and both he and David Martin were highly educated men, Monmouth being a doctor of theology and confirmed as chancellor of Oxford on 6 June 1290. On 14 October Winchelsey appointed him — "who though born in England had lived long in Wales and knew the language and was known and loved by the people" — to be bishop of Llandaff,[67] and he was consecrated at Canterbury on 10 February 1297. In 1308 his bishopric, being "slenderly endowed," was granted the Forest of Dene.[68]

The election of bishops to form one third of the ordaining committee has been termed "record evidence of the bishops' political importance."[69] It is more. In the baronial committee of 1258 there had been three bishops, while there were two on the standing council of fifteen. Although by 1311 the political importance of the bishops appears to have increased greatly, Winchelsey and Simon of Ghent played the only spectacular parts among the ordaining bishops in the early years of the reign. The episcopate seems to have been far from united, and even in such a select group as the six bishops who were elected as Ordainers there were two ministerial bishops, Langton and Baldock, who were prepared, as late as 1309, to play the part the king had marked out for them at Stamford.

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[63] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 35.

[64] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 230.

[65] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 145.

[66] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 374.

[67] Little and Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians*, p. 97. His temporalities were ordered restored on 4 April 1295: *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 132.

[68] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 85.

[69] Edwards, 'Political Importance of English Bishops,' p. 319.

II

Historians have not waxed enthusiastic over the characters of Edward's barons,[70] and it is true that they were both young and immature.[71] Among the barons only Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, could perhaps have assumed the leadership under the new king. He had been a loyal servant of Edward I.

Though he appears to have held no specific administrative post under Edward I, Lincoln did much diplomatic work. He was born in 1251 and knighted in 1272. On 27 April 1279 he was appointed Lieutenant of England during the king's absence in France,[72] and in February 1291 he was sent to Spain to negotiate a treaty. In 1295 he was defeated by a revolt of his own Welshmen,[73] but later in the same year was made Lieutenant of the King and Captain of his men-at-arms in Gascony. The next few years saw him visiting Gascony, Scotland, and Rome,[74] until in 1299 he was appointed a commissioner to negotiate a truce between France and England, as well as to arrange the marriage of Prince Edward to Isabella of France.[75] Again in 1302 Lincoln was appointed the king's envoy to France,[76] and in 1305 the king sent him to the Pope to seek absolution from the oaths he had been forced to take by the barons.[77] In consideration of all his services, Lincoln's debts at the exchequer were remitted in 1306.[78]

Henry de Lacy was one of the witnesses to the charter creating Gaveston earl of Cornwall in 1307. A month earlier he had been one of the first earls to do fealty to Edward II at Burgh-on-Sands,[79] and at the coronation he bore one of the state swords in the procession. The king seems to have counted on his support in the troubles which were soon to follow, for in 1310 Lincoln was commanded to ensure the safety of those going to the parliament at Westminster, and also to ensure the safety of Pembroke, Hereford, and Warwick, all of whom were going to treat with the king at Kennington in May.[80] He was, says the Trokelowe annalist, *strenuus in militia, maturusque in consiliis.*[81] Though Lincoln was supposedly one of those who refused to attend a council to be held at York in July 1309 if Gaveston were present there,[82] he was one of the witnesses to a deed dated 26 July at Stamford by which Gaveston surrendered certain lands.[83] On 1 September 1310 he was appointed "king's lieutenant and keeper of the kingdom" during the king's absence in Scotland,[84] and in the following December he was appointed to supply the king's place at a meeting of the council called for London.[85] He died on 5 February 1311, at which time the chroniclers report a curious death-bed harangue to his son-in-law, Thomas of Lancaster.[86]

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[70] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 323. Tout, *Place of Edward II*, pp. 21-22, thought Stubbs went too far. "Neither the wisdom of Edward I nor the folly of Edward II could do very much to alter the general stream of tendency:" *ibid.*, p. 22.

[71] M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 516-517 has emphasized the number related by blood to the king, as well as their youth. Cf. H. Johnstone in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, 413.

[72] *C.P.R.* (1272-81), pp. 309, 310.

[73] Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, 2 vols., London, 1863-64), I, 48.

[74] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 247, 313, 346, 505, 538, 540, 543; *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), pp. 252, 259, 370, 480.

[75] *Foedera*, I, ii, 904, 905.

[76] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 30. On 22 March 1303 he was given power to make a treaty with Philip's envoys: *ibid.*, p. 128.

[77] The letters of credence which Lincoln and the elder Despenser took to the Pope on 27 October 1305 concerned "certain affairs touching the king's honour and estate;" *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 351. The bull was forthcoming on 29 December: *Foedera*, I, ii, 978. In 1305 Edward instructed Guy Ferre to consult Lincoln and Despenser and any others of the king's council "que sount nos amys," cited by H. Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon, 1284-1307* (Manchester, 1946), p. 102, n. 2.

[78] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), pp. 463, 464 (8 October 1306).

[79] *C.F.R.*, I (1272-1307), pp. 558, 559.

Some light is thrown on the sympathies of the old earl in the last years of his life by an interesting series of transactions. On 23 October 1310 he had loaned the wardrobe 3000 marks for the expenses of the war in Scotland,[87] and a few days after his death an indemnity was issued against the executors of his estate for a sum of 3000 marks.[88] On 28 February 1311 a further loan of 4000 marks was requested for the wardrobe, half of which sum the executors did lend.[89] The original loan of 3000 marks was made after the promulgation of the preliminary Ordinances on 2 August 1310. Article 4 of these preliminary Ordinances clearly intends that all issues of the customs should pass through the exchequer, "ou touz autres issues et profitz issance du roiaume des queux choses qe se soient..."[90] Lincoln must have known of the Ordinance, for it was issued as early as 19 March 1310, though the royal confirmation did not follow for some months.[91] Of the loan requested on 28 February 1311, after Lincoln's death, only 2000 marks were forthcoming -- and these 2000 marks were delivered by the executors "for certain business:" the wardrobe was not mentioned by them.[92]

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[80] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 206-207 (7 February 1310); *ibid.*, p. 228 (24 May 1310).

[81] *Johannis de Trokelowe... Chronica et Annales* (ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1866), p. 72.

[82] *Chronicon domini Walteri de Hemingburgh* (ed. H. C. Hamilton, English Historical Society, 2 vols., London, 1848-49), II, 275.

[83] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 225.

[84] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 277.

[85] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 338.

[86] Trokelowe, pp. 72-73; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England* (ed. F. C. Hingeston, Rolls Series, London, 1858), p. 178: "And whan this Herry schuld dye, he cleped Thomas (of Lancaster) to him, and comaund him to stand with the rite of the reme, and that he schuld be governed be the council of Gy erl of Warwick." Such homely advice as to protect the church from the Romans and the Crown, to maintain Magna Carta, and to defer to the advice of Winchelsey completes this unhistorical utterance. "It is more like a programme of the ordainers' policy than the personal views of a loyal servant of Edward I:" Tout, *Place of Edward II*, p. 16, n. 2. The subsequent disposition of the Lincoln lands is traced in J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 241.

[87] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 286. Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, p. 185, n. 6 cites Issue Roll no. 155 m. 4 (19 November 1310) for the prompt repayment of this loan, which, by a slip, Davies says was 2000 marks. But this does not seem to have been the case since an indemnity was issued on 11 February 1311, and final repayment of 2,100 marks was made on 29 October 1312: *C.F.R.*, II (1307-19), p. 155.

[88] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 321.

In the New Ordinances of 1311, Ordinance 4 repeated the substance of Article 4 of the preliminary Ordinances almost word for word. Ordinance 8 of the New Ordinances was a further repetition, with this addition: "Dount Nous ordeinoms, Que les dites Coustumes, ensemblement ove totes les issues du Roiaume come avant est dit, soient receuz et gardez par gentz du Roiaume, et liverez a l'Escheqier en la fourme susdite."[93] It may well be that Lincoln's loan to the wardrobe, at the very time during which he was an elected Ordainer, may have been the cause of the extra emphasis placed on the prohibition of issues going anywhere but to the exchequer in 1311. It may also have been the occasion of some embarrassment to the executors of the earl, who in the month of October 1312 could reply to the king's request, made on 28 February 1311 for 4000 marks for his wardrobe, by saying that half of the sum had been loaned "for certain business" — referring the curious back to the letters patent to see exactly what that business was.

Lincoln appears to have been a reluctant ordainer. He died too soon to have much influence in moderating baronial policy.

Of Thomas of Lancaster it seems almost impossible to get a calm estimate. Born in 1276 or 1277, he was a grandson of Henry III, a nephew of Edward I, and a first cousin of Edward II. Perhaps the title of "Play-actor" (*histrionem*) with which Gaveston early dubbed him bespoke violent action and a stubborn mind, for he seems in his youth to have perambulated from tournament to tournament.[94] At an early date he promised more than he could deliver.[95] In the coronation procession he carried the sword called "curtana", and was probably the steward at the coronation banquet. Since he was granted the stewardship of England on 9 May 1308,[96] he does not seem, at least this early, to have been an avowed enemy of the king. In 1307 he had been one of the witnesses confirming the charter of creation of Gaveston as earl of Cornwall, but by June 1309 he appears to have gone over to the opposition.[97] Like most of those who were to be chosen Ordainers, he joined, on 17 March 1310, in letters to the king declaring that any ordinances should not prejudice royal authority.[98] In 1311 he assumed the style of earl of Lincoln and Salisbury.[99]

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[89] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 304 (28 February 1311). The bond for repayment of 2000 marks by Midsummer is dated 10 March 1311: *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 326. The grant of 2,100 marks on 29 October 1312 to the treasurer, John de Sandale, an executor of Lincoln's will, was for the 3000 marks loaned "to the king in the wardrobe:" *C.F.R.*, II (1307-19), p. 155. Apparently 2000 marks was loaned to the king "for certain business." The grant was under the privy seal. In *C.Ch.W.*, I (1244-1326), pp. 344, 345 the king asked the treasurer to lend him from Lincoln's estate £ 10,000 or 10,000 marks at least. On 20 February 1311 a mandate was issued to lend £ 5000 or 5000 marks and make obligatory letters for whatever was loaned: *ibid.*

[90] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 173; *Rot. Parl.*, I, 447.

[91] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 172; *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 274.

[92] *C.F.R.*, II (1307-19), p. 155.

[93] *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 159; *Rot. Parl.*, I, 282.

Since Lancaster is to be a chief, if irregular, influence on baronial policy in the middle years of the reign, his story may best be told in that connection and the details of his further career need not detain us now. It should be noted, however, that easy assumptions are often made about political "parties" and alignments in the Middle Ages.[100] A man like Thomas of Lancaster could unite for a time a group who held vague beliefs about reform, but were without any policy to put forward and were quite incapable of any concerted action beyond the immediate alleviation of a few obvious grievances, after which the so-called "party" would fly to pieces. The leader of such a group did not need to be constructive, and Lancaster has come to be the prototype of such a leader. "A strong, unscrupulous, coarse, and violent man, he was devoid of political foresight, incapable of patriotic self-sacrifice, and unable to use power when it fell into his hands.... He was by birth, wealth, and inclination fitted to be a leader of opposition. Discontented, he made no secret of his feelings, and became the centre of general discontent."[101]

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[94] Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, p. 17, n. 5.

[95] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 469: "Pardon to Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the king's nephew of the deficiency of the service due from him in the armies of Scotland for divers knights' fees held by him in chief, which, notwithstanding that he came with a fitting company, those whom he had sent acknowledged before the marshall of the said armies to fall short of the whole service due from him." (6 November 1306)

[96] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 68; *Foedera*, II, i, 83.

[97] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 159: he was forbidden to "tourney, make bounds or jousts, seek adventures, or do other feats of arms in England." Hemingburgh, II, 275 says he refused to go to a *secretum parliamentum* at York in October 1309 on account of Gaveston.

[98] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 253 where the letters were enrolled, but, through a slip, dated a year too early.

[99] *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant by G.E.C.* (new edition by V. Gibbs et al.), VII (1929) 390. The most recent account of Lancaster's career is that of Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. I, 1265-1603* (London, 1953), pp. 17-30.

[100] See T. P. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History...* (10th ed. rev. by T. F. T. Plucknett, London, 1946), pp. 238-239 for a good summary of the political aims of the medieval baronage.

[101] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 337. Wilkinson, *Constitutional History, 1216-1399*, II, 11 suggests that Lancaster was "not lacking in political ideals."

A welcome change from the common type of baronial leader was Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Tout has hailed him as the "only one of the great magnates who worked hard in the daily routine of politics," and of all Edward's barons he was the one man "who acted least upon personal considerations."[102] He also had a fine military record, for in 1297 he served in Flanders and in 1298 in Scotland. In 1301 and the two following years he was a joint commissioner or ambassador to treat with the French[103] and in 1303 the king exhorted him, as captain (*capitanei*) of the king's army on this side of the sea of Scotland, to attack the Scots.[104]

Early entrusted with the supervision of the Prince of Wales, Pembroke was one of the managers of Edward's household expenses on the young Prince's trip to France in 1304.[105] On 5 April 1306 he was appointed "king's lieutenant and captain over all men-at-arms, as well horse as foot" in the north,[106] and in 1307 he was addressed as "warden and lieutenant" in Scotland.[107] On his mother's death in the same year he became earl of Pembroke. At the coronation he put the left boot on the king's foot.[108] In Lent 1309 he went as joint ambassador to the Pope,[109] but by May 1310 he was cautioned not to come to parliament armed, and was guaranteed a safe-conduct along with Hereford and Warwick, all of whom were coming to treat with the king at Kennington.[110] In May 1311 he was summoned to accompany the king to Scotland, but on 28 November was ordered not to attend the forthcoming parliament with either arms or horses.[111] In December 1311 his castle of Botheville, which had previously been surrendered to the king to "prevent it falling into the hands of the king's enemies"[112] was re-committed to him.

Obviously Pembroke was in opposition to the king in the early years of the reign. It was the quarrel over Gaveston which ultimately drove Pembroke into the arms of the king and turned him from typical baronial opposition to the middle way.[113] For Gaveston dead gained the king a powerful friend: Pembroke's great contribution was made after 1312.

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[102] Tout, *Place of Edward II*, p. 18; Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, p. 110.

[103] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 58; *C.P.R.* (1301-07), pp. 30, 56, 67; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p 81.

[104] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 147; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 59.

[105] *C.P·R.* (1301-07), pp. 261, 263, 264; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 59.

[106] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 426; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 432. *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 148 calls him *custodem Scotiae per regem Angliae.*

[107] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 509.

[108] *Foedera*, II, i, 27, 36; the boot is *caligam.*

[109] *Annales Paulini* in *Chronicles*, I, 267.

[110] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 228 (24 May 1311).

[111] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 356, 442.

[112] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 408 (12 December 1311).

[113] The king ordered him to desist from besieging Gaveston in Scarborough castle on 17 May 1312: *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 460. Two days later Pembroke promised Gaveston his life

A known representative of a sympathetic policy towards the king among the Ordainers is Gilbert de Clare, earl of Clare, Hertford, and Gloucester. His father had married Joan, the second daughter of Edward I, in 1290,[114] and as a boy Gloucester was the companion of Edward II. He was knighted by the king on 22 May 1306 and was granted his father's lands the next year,[115] in March 1308 also being granted marriage of "whomsoever he will."[116] In 1309 (the same year in which his sister Margaret married Piers Gaveston) he was forbidden to take part in jousts or to do any other feats of arms in England.[117] On 20 June 1309 he was ordered to provide horses and arms for the Scottish war and was summoned the next year as well.[118] In 1310 he was one of three earls summoned to Kennington for conversations with the king,[119] and his influence seems to have been at least partially responsible for Gaveston's recall the year before:[120] it was to him that Pembroke appealed after Gaveston's kidnapping. On the death of Lincoln Gloucester was appointed "keeper of the realm" in 1311,[121] and on 1 May a meeting of the keeper and others of the council was called to discuss the affairs of the king.[122]

The high regard in which the king held Gloucester is possibly indicated by a grant of 5000 marks on 28 July 1311, a few weeks before the completion of the New Ordinances.[123] Gloucester took a leading part in the publication of the Ordinances, however, announcing them to the people on 5 October in St. Paul's churchyard, and in November 1311 he was ordered to attend the forthcoming parliament unarmed and without horses.[124] Perhaps it was hard to be

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if he would surrender. He did so, and Pembroke, Warenne, and Henry de Percy issued letters patent: *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 204-206. But Warwick seized Gaveston at Deddington. Pembroke tried to induce Gloucester or the university of Oxford to intervene, but could not persuade them: Malmesbury, *Chronicles*, II, 178-179. The unfortunate Gaveston was beheaded on 19 June.

[114] *Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1848), Appendix, II, p. 247 prints an abstract of a letter of 4 August 1305 from Edward to the earl of Lincoln begging that he be allowed to have Gilbert de Clare and Peter Gaveston live with him. His expenses as a ward of the crown may be found in *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 592, 606. For his father's dealings with Edward II see F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1947), II, 732-733, 788.

[115] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 10.

[116] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 50 (12 March 1308).

[117] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 159.

[118] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 224, 330. On 2 October 1309 he was granted certain king's manors "for good service rendered and to be rendered:" *C.Ch.R.*, III (1300-26), p. 130.

[119] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 228 (24 May 1310).

[120] He was one of the witnesses of a deed on 26 July 1309 by which Gaveston surrendered certain of his lands: *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 225.

[121] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 333 (4 March 1311); *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 310.

[122] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 351.

[123] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 365.

[124] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 442 (28 November 1311).

sure of the support of Gilbert de Clare; but up to 1311 he appears to have been on good terms with both the king and the baronage.

His career after the Ordinances may be briefly noted. Although in January 1312 he was chosen by the barons to defend Kent, London, and the southeast, he would not take an active part in the league against his own brother-in-law, Gaveston. Also in 1312 Gloucester was appointed to meet the papal representatives, when he attempted to mediate between the king and Lancaster and managed a treaty.[125] He may in fact have been the one most responsible for persuading the king to hear Lancaster's defence.[126] Yet there was still uncertainty about Gloucester's attitude, for on 8 March 1312 the king ordered the mayor, bailiffs, and men of Bristol not to go to London as they had given security to Gloucester to do, "as the king considers this may prejudice him and his royal dignity."[127] Nor were the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London to become involved with Gloucester.[128] In August 1313 he was again forbidden to do feats of arms without the king's special licence,[129] yet early in 1314 he was going overseas with the queen.[130] He died at Bannockburn, disproving, it is said, the king's taunt of cowardice.[131] Because his only son and heir, born at Cardiff in 1312, had died that same year, a lively controversy was to break out over the possession of the Gloucester lands in after years.

Gloucester's position was difficult. In the early years of the reign he was torn between the king and the barons and it is a tribute to his diplomacy that he was able to deal with both sides. His death at Bannockburn removed one who might well have exercised a moderating influence on the other earls.

Another of the young companions of Edward of Carnarvon was Humphrey de Bohun. Earl of Hereford and Essex in 1298, he had been with Lincoln as a "rich and elegant young man" at the famous siege of Caerlaverock in 1301.[132] The next year he married Elizabeth, one of Edward I's daughters, and in 1304 he went overseas with the Prince,[133] fastening on the prince's spurs at Edward's knighting in 1306. He became heavily involved in Scotland, and on 18 October 1306 his lands were seized because of his premature withdrawal from the Scottish war. [134] In February 1307 the old king was still suspicious of the earl. Asking for news of Hereford from Scotland, Edward was blunt — "as the king suspects that he has so perversely pursued the matters aforesaid that he wishes his doings in this matter to escape the king's notice."[135]

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[125] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 507, 508, 509, 516, 546. The envoys had considerable powers: *C.P.L.*, II (1305-42), p. 106.

[126] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 210, 221; Malmesbury in *Chronicles*, II, 185-186.

[127] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 450.

[128] An order of 20 August 1312 allowed him to pass through the city with his horses and household retinue. A writ of 5 October subsequently explained that this safe-conduct was not to be interpreted to let the barons take up their abode in the city. Their servants were to be allowed to procure food and other necessaries in London: *Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the City of London at the Guildhall* (ed. R. R. Sharpe, 11 vols., London, 1899-1912), *Calendar of Letter-Book D*, p. 297.

[129] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 70. Only on the previous 1 July he had been appointed to open the parliament summoned by the king before he crossed to France, "in case the king shall be prevented from attending in person:" *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 594.

[130] *C.P.R.* (1313-17), p. 86 (20 February 1314).

[131] Trokelowe, p. 85: "The Earl of Gloucester urged his followers to rush fiercely on the Scots, and gave them an example, in his anger cutting down and killing all he reached. On himself at last the whole weight of the battle fell, so that he was pierced by spears from all sides, thrown to the ground, his head battered in, and gave up his life under the hoofs of the horses. His men were terrified, seeing their lord slain, and left him lying in the field;" translated in *Complete Peerage*, V (1926), 714, note f.

At the coronation Hereford bore the sceptre with the cross. In 1309 the constableship of England, previously granted to him by Edward I, was confirmed;[136] yet the same year he was forbidden to tourney or hold feats of arms.[137] In February 1310 he was forbidden to come to parliament in arms, and in the following May had a safe-conduct to go to the king at Kennington.[138] Failure to appear at Berwick-on-Tweed, as he had been ordered on 3 August 1310, brought a sharper summons on 6 September to join the king in Scotland "to do his service as constable of the king's army."[139] And on 22 January he was ordered to come before the king in Scotland to show why the office of constable of Scotland ought not to be delivered to Henry de Beaumont.[140] He had again been forbidden, on 28 November 1311, to come to parliament armed or with horses,[141] and in 1312 he was ordered by the king to appear with certain other earls at Westminster or London to treat concerning the Ordinances.[142] The next month he had a safe-conduct to meet the papal representatives,[143] although he was still not to be allowed to take up residence in London.[144] Hereford's later adherence to Pembroke was not to hinder "a certain independence of action" which he demonstrated even in the early years of the reign.[145]

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[132] Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, p. 108, n. 1, from *Roll of Arms*, p. 4. On 4 April 1301 the king had ordered him to come to Carlisle by Midsummer to go to Scotland with Prince Edward, "although the king lately requested him to be with him at Berwick-on-Tweed at that time. He is to send to the king at Berwick a fit and sufficient man of his to execute what pertains to the earl in that army by reason of his constableship of England. The king considers that the earl will do this the more willingly because he is related to the king's son and because the latter therefore wishes to have the earl in his company. The king wills that the earl shall be henceforth of his son's council and household:" *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 487.

[133] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 264; *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 174.

[134] *C.F.R.*, I (1272-1307), pp. 543, 544.

[135] *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 524. On 18 October 1307 he was ordered to Scotland to suppress a rebellion: *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 43. In the spring he had been granted Lochmaben castle and Bruce's lands in Annendale; *C.Ch.R.*, III (1300-26), p. 66 (11 April 1306); *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in the Public Record Office, London* [1108-1509] (ed. J. Bain, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1881-88), II, no. 1757.

[136] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 113 (18 May 1309). Tout, *Chapters*, II, 243 thinks that this may have served to link him to Lancaster, who was the steward of England.

[137] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 159.

[138] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 207, 228.

[139] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 331, 332.

[140] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 340, 341.

John de Bretagne also had early connections with Edward II. A nephew of Edward I, he was assigned by his uncle in 1304 to control the expenses of the Prince's household in France. Formerly, in 1304, he had been the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine and captain of the English forces there. In 1305 the king began to make adequate financial arrangements for Bretagne's household,[146] and on 15 October 1305 he was appointed "king's lieutenant in Scotland and keeper of that land" during pleasure, at a grant of 3000 marks a year.[147] When he succeeded to the lands and tenements of his father as earl of Richmond in1306 the grants to him were suspended.[148] In March 1307 Richmond was called to London to go to France with the Prince.[149]

On 13 September 1307 the new king appointed him king's lieutenant in Scotland with an allowance of 10 marks daily for 60 men-at-arms of his household.[150] This appointment seems to have caused Bretagne some difficulty, for on 3 October the king asked the earl if he approved of his letters of appointment as keeper of Scotland. Does he understand their intent? Does he want any alterations?[151] Richmond was one of seven earls who had witnessed the creation of Gaveston as earl of Cornwall in 1307, and he later witnessed several transfers of land by and to Gaveston.[152] He also witnessed the sealing of letters from Edward to the king of France asking for the Pope's intercession to suspend the sentence of excommunication against the royal favourite.[153] In 1308 all Richmond's debts were pardoned,[154] and his sympathies were apparently with the king up to 1311. He was one of those guaranteeing Pembroke, Hereford, and Warwick a safe passage to Kennington in 1310; and in 1312 he was one of those appointed to prevent Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick from coming to the king with horses, arms, and men.[155] Richmond continued to work with the king until a final break at the last possible moment. Indeed, it seems his natural inclination was to be a curialist rather than a baronial protagonist.

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[141] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 442.

[142] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 489, 490 (4 August 1312).

[143] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 498 (28 September 1312).

[144] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 481, and above note 128.

[145] Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, p. 426.

[146] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 429 for the original grant of £ 1000 yearly. On 26 November 1302 he was granted £ 1000 a year at the exchequer "until he should be further provided for:" *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 97. On 18 October 1305 the king began to pay arrears on this grant: *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 293. On 19 June the king was paying off his debts at the rate of £ 500 a year: *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 366.

[147] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 391. Certain manors of John de Balliol in England had also been assigned to him; there is a list in *ibid.*, pp. 470, 471. He was, on the same date, 15 October 1306, granted the earldom, castles, and lands of Richmond: *C.Ch.R.*, III (1300-26), p. 69.

[148] *C.C.R.* (1302-07), p. 423.

[149] *C.C.R.* (1302-07), pp. 530, 531.

[150] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 3; *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 2.

[151] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 4. On 15 January 1308 a further appointment was made as "king's lieutenant and warden in Scotland:" *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 44.

[152] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), pp. 67, 225.

One of the two earls who were to go all the way with Edward II was Edmund Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. He was born about 1285, but nothing much is known of his early life. On 22 May 1306 he was knighted along with Prince Edward and many others, and at the coronation he carried the royal vestments in the office of chief butler (*pincerna*). Though he had witnessed the creation of Gaveston as earl of Cornwall, this did not prevent his defeat by that blade at the Wallingford tournament later on in 1307. In June 1309 Arundel was forbidden to tourney or perform feats of arms,[156] and in the same year he joined Lancaster in refusing to attend the York parliament. In August 1310 he claimed to be too busy in London drafting the Ordinances to go to the king's aid against Bruce in Scotland,[157] and he appears to have been present at their publication on 27 September 1311. In November he was forbidden to come to parliament in arms.[158] His later alliances and his marriage with Alice, the daughter of John de Warenne,[159] gave Arundel power in Wales which was to prove of great worth to Edward.

It would be hard to find a more unattractive character with whom to conclude this closely pruned survey of the earls among the Ordainers than Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. Perhaps he was, as Tout said, most like "the cultivated aristocratic ruffians of the Renascence."[160] He certainly did not lack experience in government, having been a member of the regency council of 1297-98,[161] and having been sent on many diplomatic missions by the old king who, it is said, warned him against Gaveston with his dying breath.[162] In 1307 Warwick was a member of the negotiating commission called as a sequel to the Anglo-French agreement,[163] and in the coronation procession he carried one of the state swords.

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[153] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 83; *Parliamentary Writs*, II, ii, App. 15.

[154] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 149 (26 November 1308); *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 188 (19 December 1309).

[155] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 228 (24 May 1310), and p. 490 (3 September 1312).

[156] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 159.

[157] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 174. His lack of conviction can perhaps be seen in *Annales Paulini* in *Chronicles*, I, 269.

[158] *C.C.R.* (1301-07), p. 442.

[159] On 30 December 1304 he had refused to marry the lady, but subsequently saw the error of his ways: *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 308.

[160] Tout, *Place of Edward II*, p. 16.

[161] *Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales* (ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1865), p. 179.

Since an attack occurred on one of his castles in 1308[164] Warwick cannot have been very popular. In June 1309 he was forbidden to tourney or perform any feats of arms, and, declining to attend the York parliament of October 1309, he was cautioned against coming to parliament the next year in arms.[165] He was one of three earls summoned to Kennington in May to treat with the king. He refused to send aid to the Scottish campaign, and was present in London at the publication of the New Ordinances in September 1311.[166] Undoubtedly his most spectacular act was the capture and execution of Gaveston in June 1312 — the "black cur of Arden" proved he could bite! Summoned to the king to discuss the Ordinances in August 1312, in December he was granted a safe-conduct throughout the realm if he travelled unarmed and without caparisoned horses.[167] Early in 1313 he was acquitted for the jewels, horses, and other possessions taken from Gaveston,[168] and other safe-conducts were issued to him in July and September.[169]

Warwick was prominent in 1313 and 1314, possibly acting as chief of the king's council in 1314.[170] He had the right to appoint the keeper of the tallies in the exchequer, the chamberlain of exchequer receipt also being his deputy.[171] The unpleasant man died on 10 August 1315 — died, gossip said, of poison.[172] For although the chroniclers speak of him as esteemed and learned, there was in him an undeniable element of ferocity and brutality.[173] In the early years of the reign he may have exercised a somewhat baleful influence on his nephew, the younger Despenser. Warwick was, if nothing else, consistent.

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[162] J. H. Round in *D.N.B.*, IV (1885), 28. For the diplomatic missions see *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 415, 580, 586; *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), pp. 249, 251; *C.P.R.* (1301-07), pp. 360, 361. On 16 May 1299 as he was about to go overseas the king respited a demand for £ 180 which Guy's father had owed the Riccardi of Lucca, "as the king wishes to show special favour to Guy:" *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 249. In 1305 he was allowed to pay off all his debts at the exchequer at the rate of £ 10 a year: *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 365.

[163] *C.C.R.* (1302-07), pp. 530, 531.

[164] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 169, 170 (19 January 1308).

[165] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 159; *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 207.

[166] The Guildhall copy of the Ordinances was headed "Ces sunt les Articles qe les Countes de Lancestre e de Warrewyke maunderent au Roi...:" *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn* (ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, 1859-62), II, ii, 682.

[167] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), pp. 489, 490 (4 August 1312), and p. 516 (16 December 1312).

[168] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 525 (27 February 1313); *C.P.R.* (1313-17), p. 34 (5 November 1313).

[169] *C.P.R.* (1313-17), p. 2 (17 July 1313), and p. 16 (24 September 1313).

[170] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 232. See also *C.P.R.* (1313-17), pp. 291, 296, 297 for his prominence in 1315.

[171] *C.P.R.* (1313-17), pp. 345, 357, 637.

[172] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, I, 137.

Edward's earls, particularly the eight who were Ordainers, cannot be sharply delineated. All that has been attempted here is a brief summary of the ordaining earls, their lives and careers up to about the year 1311. Three — Lincoln, Gloucester, Warwick — passed from the scene comparatively early. Those left were divided in their sympathies. As a group they were not perhaps from the beginning as opposed to the king as the traditional accounts suggest. Nor do they seem to have been as alike as Tout and Davies thought.[174]

III

The third group among the Ordainers consists of six of the barons. These men are more obscure, and accounts of the ordaining movement usually pay scant attention to them. Only one, John de Grey, even finds a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Hugh de Veer was the second son of Robert de Veer, fifth earl of Oxford. In the marriage settlement of 4 March 1268 by which his older brother Robert was to marry Margaret, the daughter of Roger de Mortimer, it was provided that Hugh — styled *fratris propinquioris predicti Roberti* — would marry her if Robert died too early.[175] Since several writs of Edward I were issued "on the information of H. de Ver," he must have been involved in the administration,[176] and he is known to have been in Gascony on the king's service in 1296.[177] In 1297 the lands of Dionisia de Monte Caniso, his wife, were granted to him for good service, and that same year he went to Rome "for the common benefit of the king and of his realm."[178] In 1298 he was pardoned 100 marks, a sum delivered to the wardrobe as an imprest in aid of his mission to Gascony

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[173] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 236; Malmesbury in *Chronicles*, II, 212; Hemingburgh, II, 295-296.

[174] Tout, *Place of Edward II*, p. 16; Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, p. 115: "Their characters appear to be all on about the same level..."

[175] *C. Ch. R.*, II (1257-1300), p. 90. Hugh's age can be calculated from this fairly accurately, for it is known that he would have been age 14 by 31 March 1273: *Complete Peerage*, X (1945), 219, note b. Hugh was therefore probably born in 1259 or early 1260.

[176] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 20 (6 June 1293), and p. 35 (27 July 1293), and p. 345 (24 April 1298), and p. 571 (14 February 1301).

[177] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 190; *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 6. There is an account of a mission of Hugh de Veer to Rome in 1297 in G. P. Cuttino, *English Diplomatic Administration, 1259-1339* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 125-126.

[178] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 47 (22 July 1297), and p. 151 (17 March 1298); *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 336, 342.

— "in consideration of his good and praiseworthy service."[179] The next year he was summoned to Scotland and was probably present, if a passage in the *Caerlaverock Roll of Arms* is dependable, at the siege of that castle in 1301.

> Apres ceus i trius en mon conte
> Hue de ver le filz au conte
> De Oxenfort e frere son hoir
> O le ourle endente de noir
> Avoit baniere e long e lee
> De or e de rouge esquartelie
> De bon cendal non pas de toyle
> E devant une blanche estoyle.[180]

Earlier in 1301 he had been an envoy to Philip of France to negotiate a treaty.[181] He was one of the signers of the letter of 17 March 1310, and is mentioned later in records in connection with the inheritance of his wife, who died about 1314.[182] He himself was dead by 25 July 1324.[183] Why Hugh, rather than his older brother Robert, should be chosen as an Ordainer is not clear — unless it was a way of giving a second son an important duty.[184]

William le Marshal was a baron who was probably a strong Lancastrian partisan. He was born about 24 September 1277 and fell at Bannockburn. Because the name was a common one, it is difficult to sort out those entries on the rolls which pertain to the Ordainer. A certain William le Marshal is accused of various breaches of the peace in 1301, 1309, and 1310; but this man cannot have been the Ordainer.[185] William le Marshal, the Ordainer, was summoned for military service in Flanders in 1297 and in expeditions against the Scots from 1298 to 1314.[186] His seal was affixed to the letter sent by the barons to the Pope in February 1301 from Lincoln.[187] In 1308 he carried the golden spurs at the coronation, and was summoned to parliament from

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[179] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 356. On 25 May 1301 he was granted 12 oaks in the king's wood called "the park of Haunle:" *ibid.*, p. 448.

[180] Quoted by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 'Remarks on the Seals affixed to two Documents preserved in the Treasury of the Receipt of Exchequer, being Duplicates of the Letters from the Barons of England to Pope Boniface the Eighth, in the year 1301, respecting the Sovereignty of Scotland,' *Archaeologia*, XXI (1827), 206-207. For the siege on 10-15 July 1301 see Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, pp. 50-51. On 24 May, Hugh, "who is about to go with the king to the parts of Scotland," was granted the wardship of the manor of Buckton (Kent): *C.F.R.*, I (1272-1307), p. 441.

[181] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 580, 586.

[182] *C.C.R.* (1313-18), pp. 191, 195; *C.C.R.* (1318-23), p. 659.

[183] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, VI, 329.

[184] For Robert see *Complete Peerage*, X (1945), 219-220.

[185] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), pp. 80, 245, 246, 258.

[186] See on Marshal the article in *Complete Peerage*, VIII (1932), 528-29.

[187] For the letter see *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 122-125. It may never have reached the Pope: K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (7th ed., London, 1950), pp. 74-75.

8 January 1309 to 26 November 1313 as *Willelmo le Mareschal,* signing the letter of 17 March 1310. In 1311 he was forbidden to come armed to parliament on account of a quarrel with Nicholas de Segrave.[188] He was killed on 24 June 1314.[189] After 1308 Marshal was probably a strong adherent of Lancaster, who may have been offended at the baron's replacement as marshal by Nicholas de Segrave.[190]

Robert Fitzroger is hardly known at all. He seems to have died a few weeks after his election as an Ordainer — before 29 April 1310.[191] It is perhaps a commentary on the selfishness of the barons that nothing is ever heard of a replacement for Fitzroger, though such an eventuality as replacement was anticipated in the letter of 17 March 1310.[192] Fitzroger was very young when his father died in 1249. He distinguished himself in diplomatic and military adventures, being in Flanders in 1297 and in Scotland off and on between 1294 and 1298.[193] He was appointed king's captain and lieutenant in Northumberland in 1300.[194] He held 10 knights' fees in 1301, and in 1302 his debts were respited till Whitsuntide (26 May 1303).[195] In 1306 the king asked him to assist Aymer de Valence in Scotland.[196] He was summoned to parliament from 2 November 1295 to 26 October 1309 by writs addressed *Roberto filio Rogeri.*[197] He died too early to allow any just estimate of his sympathies, but all his life up to 1310 seems an adequate preparation for royalist, or at least moderate leanings.

The remaining three baronial members of the ordaining committee are better known. Hugh de Courtenay was the son of Hugh de Courtenay of Okehampton, Devonshire, by his wife Eleanor, the daughter of the elder Despenser. In 1292 he succeeded his father in the Okehampton estate and the next year became *de jure* earl of Devon, though he did not receive the title till 1335.[198] He was summoned to parliament from 6 February 1299 until 24 July 1334 by writs directed *Hugoni de Curtenay*,[199] and was knighted by the Prince of Wales on 22 May 1306. The Ordainers made good use of him, for he was one of the members commissioned in November 1311 to hunt for Gaveston and was also appointed an auditor of the accounts of foreign merchants.[200] In the middle and later years of the reign he was employed increasingly by the administration, perhaps a consequence of his close ties to the Despensers. It is a pity that he did not leave memoirs: he was the last surviving Ordainer, dying on 23 December 1340 at the advanced age of 66.

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[188] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 431 (20 July 1311).

[189] The order to seize his lands was dated 18 July 1314: *C.F.R.*, II (1307-19), p. 203.

[190] Malmesbury in *Chronicles*, II, 162; Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, II, 343, n. 1.

[191] See *Complete Peerage*, III (1913), 275; *C.F.R.*, II (1307-19), pp. 61, 62.

[192] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 171; *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 253.

[193] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), pp. 13, 75; *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 232, 233.

[194] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 491 (1 March 1300). He supplied the king's place at Berwick: *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 335. On 4 November 1297 the king thanked him specially for the diligence he had displayed at Newcastle against the Scots "and commends his fidelity and probity...:" *ibid.*, p. 77. On 12 May 1299 he had respite of all his debts at the exchequer: *ibid.*, p. 249. On 15 July he was ordered to be at York to discuss the garrisoning of Scottish castles: *ibid.*, p. 259.

[195] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), pp. 435, 566.

[196] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), pp. 432, 433.

[197] He took part in the letter to Boniface VIII in February 1301 as *Robertus filius Rogeri dominus de Claveryng: Complete Peerage,* III (1913), 275.

[198] *C.C.R.* (1333-37), p. 376 (23 February 1335).

William Martin of Kemmes was born about 1257. He was experienced in administration under Edward I and was frequently summoned to do military service in Wales, in Scotland, and in Gascony.[201] On returning from Flanders in 1298 he was shipwrecked and lost his horses and armour, to cover which losses he received the substantial allowance of £ 510.[202] He joined in the 1301 letter to the Pope, and in the last years of Edward I's reign was on many commissions to hear and determine trespasses against the king's peace,[203] in 1307 being specially ordered to act with the sheriffs to maintain the peace in Devonshire during the king's absence.[204] He joined in the letter of the English baronage protesting abuses to the Pope on 6 August 1309.[205] In 1310 he was keeper of the peace in Devonshire and commissioner for forestalling and transgressing,[206] and he was the second member of the commission to hunt for Gaveston on 30 November 1311. It is also interesting to note that he was the father of Henry de Lacy's second wife.[207] His career parallels that of Courtenay, and the two were often, in later years, to be associated on commissions of oyer and terminer. These barons, along with John de Grey, the final Ordainer, represent the highest type of royal servants — men like those known under the peculiar name of *buzones*.[208]

John de Grey of Wilton (or Ruthin) was a man whose career was very similar to those of Courtenay and Martin. Born about 1268, he did not become lord Grey of Wilton until 1308 and is easily confused with his contemporary John de Grey of Rotherfield. John de Grey the Ordainer is mentioned as being a justice as early as 1294,[209] and he was vice-justice of Chester from 1296 to 1297.[210] In 1297 he was ordered to array 300 Welsh foot for the war in Scotland.[211] In the late years of Edward I's reign, however, he seems to have offended the king in some manner, for on 16 October 1305 he was granted remission "of the king's rancour, on condition that he stand his trial if the king or any other person wish to proceed against him."[212] Although he was first called to parliament on 9 June 1309, he seemed as yet hardly a prominent partisan, appearing to have been on a commission in 1309 to enquire into Welsh customs and liberties.[213] In 1310 he founded a collegiate church at Ruthin.[214] His later activities were to set him down as hostile to the court until he switched sides in 1322.

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[199] *Complete Peerage*, IV (1916), 323.

[200] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 405 (30 November 1311); *Mun. Gildh. Lond.*, II, ii, 583.

[201] *Calendar of Welsh Rolls, 1277-1294* in *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls, 1277-1326*, pp. 322, 354, 357; *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 150, 187, 194.

[202] *C.C.R.* (1296-1302), p. 151; *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 340 (10 April 1298). A commission to arrest those who had seized William's goods was issued on 7 June 1298 and renewed on 26 May 1299: *ibid.*, pp. 340, 468, 469.

[203] *C.C.R.* (1302-07). pp. 280, 287, 298, 496, 531.

[204] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 30 (24 December 1307); renewed 17 March 1308; *ibid.*, p. 54; *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 22.

[205] *Ann. Lond.* in *Chronicles*, I, 162.

[206] *C.C.R.* (1307-13), p. 205 (1 April 1310); *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 329 (6 December 1310).

[207] *Nicolai Triveti annalium continuatio* [1307-18] (ed. A. Hall, Oxford, 1722), p. 8.

[208] G. Lapsley, 'Buzones,' reprinted in *Crown, Community and Parliament in the Later Middle Ages: Studies in English Constitutional History* (eds. H. M. Cam and G. Barraclough, Oxford, 1951), pp. 63-110.

This survey of the careers of the Lords Ordainers in the years before they were elected to draw up the Ordinances has shown them to be men of varied sympathies. The bishops played a more prominent part in political negotiations than they have often been credited with in general accounts of the reign of Edward II. The earls, led by Warwick and Lancaster, early lost the moderating influences of Lincoln and the young earl of Gloucester. The barons among the Ordainers included a number of men with fine administrative experience which was to be drawn on increasingly in the middle years of the reign. It is particularly their rôle, hitherto almost completely neglected in accounts of the ordaining movement, which becomes evident in any detailed examination of the work of the Ordainers after 1311.[215]

"History, even constitutional history, is the history of persons. We are dealing with men who lived well, loved tournaments, and liked romances better than law books."[216] What group better illustrates the truth of this dictum than the twenty-one Lords Ordainers?

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[209] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), pp. 72, 110.

[210] *Thirty-First Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1870), p. 202.

[211] *C.P.R.* (1292-1301), p. 324.

[212] *C.P.R.* (1301-07), p. 392. In 1306 the king remitted part of the debt of Reginald, his father: *Rot. Parl.*, I, 199, no. 53. On 5 May 1308 his father's lands were delivered to him: *C.F.R.*, II (1307-19), p. 22.

[213] *C.P.R.* (1307-13), p. 239 (4 August 1309). A similar commission dealing with the marches of Wales on 26 December 1312: *ibid.*, pp. 546, 547.

[214] *C.P.R.* (1313-17), p. 178 is an *inspeximus* and confirmation on 18 September 1314 of the original grant on 7 April 1310.

[215] Such an examination is in hand and should appear in due course. I have anticipated slightly in dealing with the careers of four of the baronial ordainers.

[216] Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, I, 342.

A Debate of the Body and the Soul in Old Norse Literature

OLE WIDDING and HANS BEKKER-NIELSEN

INTRODUCTION

THE many works of distinction which were brought during the Middle Ages from continental Europe to Iceland and Norway in the far North, include not only the basic writings by the Fathers of the Church, but also many of the widely-circulated treatises on theology, law, and history of a more or less popular nature. These writings, almost all of them in Latin, were as a rule translated into the vernacular almost immediately. Hence it is that we find in Old Norse such an astonishing number of serious devotional and doctrinal books. The term Old Norse in the present context embraces both Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian.

The intercourse between the centres of learning on the Continent (and in the British Isles) and the cathedrals and monasteries of Scandinavia, brought a wider outlook to scholars in Iceland and Norway. It is not surprising, therefore, that original writings in Old Norse, especially works of a theological nature, were often moulded on European models. We know, for example, that the first two Icelandic bishops, Ísleifr (d. 1080) and Gizurr (d. 1118), were educated in Germany, and that Icelandic and Norwegian scholars later on went to France and England to study. We also know that foreign priests came to Norway and Iceland as missionaries. Thus the Norwegians and the Icelanders of the Middle Ages came to share the learning of their day. Consequently, theological, religious and semi-religious writings became on the whole completely European in outlook. One would search in vain for a specifically Scandinavian tradition here.

It will be difficult, however, to determine precisely just how much Old Norse literature owes to European writings until a close study of the texts from this point of view has been carried through.[1] Here we meet a serious obstacle. Large numbers of mediaeval manuscripts in Old Norse have vanished, since the serious spiritual and devotional writings of the Catholic centuries were of little or no interest following the Lutheran reformation. The situation, however, is not altogether hopeless for the modern student of religious and semi-religious writings in Old Norse, because a considerable number of manuscripts and fragments were collected by the Icelandic scholar, Árni Magnússon (d. 1730), and bequeathed to the University of Copenhagen. Most of the manuscripts which must be consulted for carrying on an investigation in this area are to be found in the Arnamagnean Collection.

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[1] The fullest account so far of the religious literature is by G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford 1953).

It is essential that the student of mediaeval ecclesiastical writings in Old Norse have accurate and full editions of the texts. Unfortunately, however, since the time of C. R. Unger no scholar has dedicated himself completely to this branch of Old Norse literature. A word of appreciation of Unger's services to the study of Old Norse literature is in order. A select list of his publications provides an admirable survey of the range and variety of ecclesiastical writings in Old Norse as far as the manuscripts reveal it. In collaboration with R. Keyser, another distinguished Norwegian scholar, he edited a life of Barlaam and Josaphat (Christiania 1851). He also published independently two great collections of hagiographic writings: a collection of acts of the Apostles[2] (*Postola Sögur*, Chria. 1874) and a collection of saints' legends, including the lives of Ambrose, Antony, Augustin, Benedict, Brendan the Voyager, Gregory the Great, Martin of Tours, Nicholas, and a translation of the *Vitae Patrum* (*Heilagra Manna Sögur*, Chria. 1877). Unger's other works include an ON translation (or paraphrase) of parts of the Old Testament, (*Stjórn*, Chria. 1862), a collection of homilies (Chria. 1864), and a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Chria. 1869). When it is added that he edited a life of the Blessed Virgin together with a collection of miracles, the compilation known as *Maríu Saga*[3] (Chria. 1871), edited a number of other ON works of local interest, and had a hand in the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, it will be understood how extensive and important is his contribution to the study of ON language and literature.

However, other scholars than Unger have published editions of ecclesiastical writings. Thus we have, for example, the Stockholm Homily Book[4] (ed. by Wisén, Lund 1872), an Icelandic manuscript now in the Royal Library of Stockholm, which contains an even richer collection of homilies and sermons than the Norwegian Homily Book, mentioned above. Furthermore, parts of an ON translation of Gregory's dialogues and homilies are preserved (ed. by þ. Bjarnarson, Copenhagen 1878), and some fragments of hagiographic writings, ranking among the oldest works in Old Norse, were edited by Gustav Morgenstern (*Arnamagnaeanische Fragmente*, Copenhagen 1893), among them a life of St. Basil the Great.

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[2] Some of the originals of the ON acts of the Apostles can be found in the collections by J. A. Fabricius, C. Tischendorf and R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet.

[3] Cf. Turville-Petre, *op. cit.*, and *Mediaeval Studies IX* (1947) 131-40.

[4] Cf. Turville-Petre, *Mediaeval Studies XI* (1949) 206 ff.

In our survey we have not mentioned the collection of lives of Icelandic bishops (*Biskupa Sögur*, Copenhagen 1858-78), and other native writings influenced by foreign literature, since it is not our aim to give a full account of the literature concerning theology, hagiography and kindred subjects in Old Norse. A detailed account of all the literature in this field is impossible here, and we must limit any further remarks to that special area of didactic literature, the dialogue.

Since much of the didactic literature of the Middle Ages took the form of dialogue, it is hardly surprising that the genre should turn up in Norway and Iceland. As already mentioned there are the Norse translations of Gregory's dialogues. There is also a translation of the *Elucidarius*. An original ON work written along the same lines as these is the *Konungs Skuggsjá* (Speculum Regale), a Norwegian dialogue in which a father gives his son instruction on morality, good behaviour, and other virtues. In the same field there is a translation of Hugh of St. Victor's Soliloquium de arrha animae[5] and the debate of the body and the soul, printed below.

REMARKS ON TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS

The Norwegian Book of Homilies[6] already mentioned contains, near the end, a chapter called *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli*. However, the text has nothing to do with the well known Visio S. Pauli[7]. It is in fact a Norwegian version of a Dialogue between the Body and the Soul. The problems concerning the Dialogue, its variant versions, the translations appearing in many languages, and the tracing of its motif need not be discussed here. Th. Batiouchkoff has already given a detailed account of these problems,[8] and the present paper owes much to his investigations. It was Batiouchkoff who first pointed out that the ON Dialogue is closely related to the Old French poem *Un samedi par nuit.*[9]

Our reason for returning to the subject once more is that other manuscripts of the Dialogue have now been discovered, based apparently on the same translation as that known to Batiouchkoff, but providing somewhat different versions.

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[5] Edited in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, pp. 453-472, and in *Hauksbók* (Copenhagen 1892-96) pp. 308-29.

[6] Ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania 1864); G. T. Flom (Illinois 1929); and G. Indrebø (Oslo 1931).

[7] Cf. H. Brandes, *Visio Sancti Pauli* (Halle 1885) and H. Th. Silverstein, *Visio S. Pauli: The Hist. of the Apoc. in Latin together with Nine Texts*, *Studies & Documents*, ed. Kirsopp & S. Lake, IV (London 1935).

[8] Th. Batiouchkoff, 'Le Débat de l'âme et du corps,' *Romania* XX (1891) 1-55, 513-76 and Rudolph Willard, 'The Address of the Soul to the Body,' *PMLA* L (1935) 957-83.

[9] Edited by H. Varnhagen in *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, I (Erlangen 1889) 113 ff.

These texts, which are printed below, can be briefly identified as follows:

N:	*AM 619 4°* (fol. 75^{v}-78^{r})[10] a manuscript on vellum from the beginning of the 13th century (c. 1220), probably written in one of the monasteries of Selja or Bergen (Norway). Anonymous scribe.
696:	*AM 696 4°*, fragment no. XXXII (fol. 2^{r-v})[11], on vellum from the end of the 15th century, written in Iceland. Anonymous scribe.
764:	*AM 764 4°* (fol. 30^{r-v}), on vellum from the 14th century (c. 1360-70), written in Iceland. Anonymous scribe.[12]
405:	*JS 405 8°* (fol. 10^{r}-15^{v}), on paper from 1780, written in Iceland by the farmer Ólafur Jónsson in Arney.[13]

N does not seem to be the translator's autograph though it is the oldest of the manuscripts preserved. It is part of a miscellany compiled shortly after 1200. The translation into the vernacular must have been made some time before, probably during the very last years of the 12th century.

Most early translations into Old Norse were made from Latin. However, since no Latin original of the ON Debate has been discovered,[14] we must assume (with Batiouckhoff) that N goes directly back to an O Fren. poem (the source of the texts printed by Varnhagen[15]). A comparison of the O Fren. texts with N shows the O Fren. version known as P to be nearest to N. But to account for every detail in N it is sometimes necessary to supply readings from O Fren. B. The close (and often literal) resemblance between *Un samedi par nuit* and our ON translation in N shows that we are on the right track, but until a version of the O Fren. poem explaining every characteristic of the translation is found, we must be satisfied with knowing that we can fit N into the literary pattern represented by Varnhagen's texts.

It is interesting to speculate on the likelihood of there being a Norwegian scholar in Norway at that time who knew enough French to translate *Un samedi par nuit* into Old Norse. It is well-known, of course, that a few decades later much French literature was translated into the Norwegian vernacular, but this is the first time we find a translation of this kind being made as early as about 1200.

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[10] AM denotes that the MS is preserved in the Arnamagnean Collection, Copenhagen. The signature N is used here according to the use of Batiouchkoff in his study of the subject.

[11] Fol. 1^{r-v} of the fragment contains a part of the Old Norse translation of Hugh of St. Victor's Soliloquium, see above. In the Catalogue of the Arnamagnean Collection the fragment is erroneously called a homily, but while compiling the coming Arnamagnean dictionary of Old Icelandic we discovered the truth of the matter.

[12] Entered in the Catalogue among legends and miscellaneous anecdotes (also containing extracts from the Maríu Saga and the Vitae Patrum).

[13] JS stands for Jón Sigurðsson's collection of MSS in the National Library of Iceland, Reykjavík. Our attention was drawn to the MS by Magnús Már Lárusson's paper in *Skírnir* CXXIX (Reykjavík 1955) pp. 159 ff.

[14] The Latin poem described by F. J. E. Raby in *Secular Latin Poetry* II (Oxford, 1957) pp. 300 ff. has the same motif as our debate, but differs greatly in details.

[15] *Op. cit.* Varnhagen's signatures of the four O Fren. versions will be used here. P, B and C are contemporary with N, or slightly later, while H goes back to the 14th century only.

We need not wonder that the poem was converted into prose by the translator. That this was no uncommon practice is shown, for example, in the translation of Philip Gautier's poem *Alexandreis* into the ON prose Alexanders Saga. The name of the translator of *Un samedi par nuit* is not known, and there is no point in trying to identify him; but he was probably a member of the Norwegian clergy, educated in France.

A strange problem faces us when we turn to the inscription at the head of N. That the text is preceded by the words "Visio sancti Pauli apostoli" implies that the *Visio* was already known in Norway when N was written. But the person (perhaps the scribe of N in the Book of Homilies) who is responsible for misapplying the title of the *Visio* to our text cannot have been closely acquainted with the *Visio* itself. As will appear below, we meet with a similar problem in 405.

That N does not fully reproduce *Un samedi par nuit* will be apparent from our edition of N below, where references to Varnhagen's edition of the O Fren. poem are given in brackets (e. g. P 1, B 27-28). The ON translator made a very careful reproduction of the framework of the O Fren. poem, though he occasionally reduced the text. His aim was apparently to avoid repetitions, and this would explain why he abbreviated the complaint of the Soul by leaving out the last part (i. e. that corresponding to P 357-569). In the same way he abridged the Body's reply; what had already been described in every detail by the Soul did not require full repetition. The number of such omissions increases towards the end of the text. It will be easily gathered from the references to Varnhagen's texts how the translator worked out the abridgement.

Before we leave N it is worth mentioning that a comparison on the four ON texts with the O Fren. poem shows that N and P often resemble each other and contrast with 696, 764 and 405. We must therefore conclude that in such instances N represents the original more faithfully than do the other ON texts.

Examples of similarity between P and N are:

P 115	N
Maluais ert li present	øleg er sú fórn
P 209-12	N
Jo te faisoie aler	Ec gerđa þic gangføran
Et manger et parler	mælande.
Jo te faisoie oir	oc høyrande oc sofande.
Et ueoir et sentir	
P 293-94	N
Grant seruice li fist	hon let at dauđe þecte henne
La mort, qi toi ocist	mykit embætte er þec toc

None of these instances of similarity can be found in the other three ON versions, all of which omit the passages.

However, instances suggesting that N occasionally has readings which are less original than those of our three other texts, will be mentioned below.

A few remarks will suffice to show the relationship of our three Icelandic manuscripts to N and to *Un samedi par nuit.*

696 is, as indicated in our edition, a fragment which is defective at the beginning and the end of the debate. We cannot know how it began, or whether it had a title. This is unfortunate in view of the considerable variation on this point in our texts.

It has already been mentioned that N has been erroneously named. The identity of the text cannot have been clear to the scribe of N. But neither 764 nor 405 is of any help in clearing up the matter. The former, 764, has no heading whatsoever. Its only clarifying statement is that the dreamer was a recluse called Auxentius. When we turn to 405 we find that the text is called *Bernhardi Leidsla* (i. e. Visio Bernhardi); moreover the introduction records a few facts: that Bernhard was a learned man in England, and that he witnessed the debate of the body and the soul in a dream. Such variety of approach is rather confusing, and reflects no doubt the confusion of the scribes themselves as to the correct names of visions of this kind.[16]

764 is very much abridged compared with N (and 405), probably because the compiler of the manuscript wanted to fit the debate into his collection of rather short anecdotes. The wording, however, has not been greatly changed, apart from the omissions, and it is, in general, parallel to 696 and 405.

Both 764 and 405 have an epilogue which is not present in N (nor in any of Varnhagen's versions). Whether 696 ever had an epilogue, it is impossible to say.

However, the additions and subtractions in the three Icelandic manuscripts, as compared with N and *Un samedi par nuit,* show how the text has been revised by the scribes and influenced by sources foreign to the original. Moreover, a number of differences arise from the fact that the Icelandic versions themselves derive from the Norwegian translation and show, as a consequence, their own peculiarities of style and language.

Though 696, 764 and 405 are, on the whole, less important, they occasionally preserve features of the original text:

P 163	696, 764	N
maluais ostal	ieligt (eligt) herbergi	høglect herbyrgie

In this passage the reading of N differs from the original, while 696 and 764 correctly translate *maluais* by the uncommon word *aeligr* (ieligr, eligr) as does N in another instance (P 115).

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[16] See e. g. H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich 1920), pp. 63 ff. The Visio Philiberti appears under different names: Visio Fulberti, Visio Pilberti, Visio Gilberti, and Visio Bernhardi. The fact that a vision is ascribed to St. Bernhard (e.g. in cod. 1531, Bologna, ed. in *Studi Medievali*, nuova serie I (Torino 1928) pp. 293 ff.) suggests an explanation of the name of 405: a literary tradition of one text has falsely been transplanted into another.

P 618	696, 405	N
Que plus fel fui que chien	eg em verri enn hundr	eg var engu verri en þu

The more literal translation in 696 and 405 shows that N also here has a corrupted reading which cannot be derived from the original. These instances also prove what we assumed above: that N is not the translator's autograph.

So far we have learned that the manuscripts of the ON translation of *Un samedi par nuit* may be divided into two groups: N representing one group, the Icelandic manuscripts (696, 764, 405) the other. That all four manuscripts are closely related, however, and represent the same translation is shown in the following instances:

P 220	N	696
chaisne (oak)	gron (fir)	grein (branch)

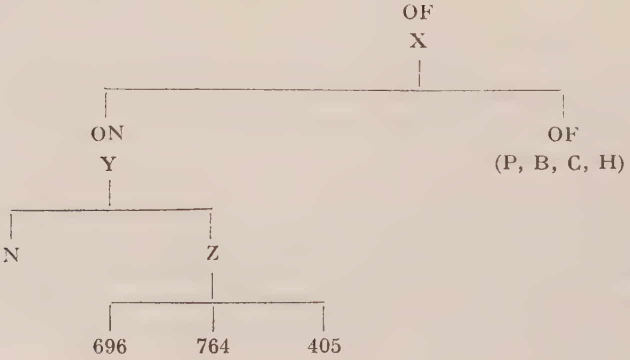
This instance shows that *chaisne* was translated into the uncommon word *gron* (the only example of this word in ON). The scribe of 696 reinterprets the unfamiliar word in his original into *grein* and thus disturbs the meaning of the passage. We must not be led astray by the fact that 405 renders *chaisne* by *eik* "oak", and assume as a consequence that 405 represents the original translation, since Icelandic *eik* is used as a common word for tree.

Variations between the ON versions indicate that all four of them are shorter than the original ON translation (Y in the scheme below):

P 183-86	N	696	764, 405
Ne te poi refrener	Ec mátta þic	Eg matta þic	ek matta þig eigi
Ne de mal retorner,	æigi hępta oc	eigi fra villu	hirta (405: þitt
Ne te poi conseillier,	æigi fra illu	færa ok eigi	Hiarta þída) ok
Dolent, ne castier.	hværfa.	hirtta.	eigi fra uillu draga.

Here P has four elements while the Old Norse versions have only two. N reproduces elements 1 and 2, 696 reproduces 2 and 4, and 764 has 4 and 2 (note the reverse order). 405 follows 764, but alters the text arbitrarily.

The instances mentioned show how and to what degree our texts are related. The relation between the various texts would seem from our analysis to be as follows:



CONCLUDING REMARKS

Three of the texts printed below are here edited for the first time. Although they differ somewhat from one another in various ways: in their proper names, their introductory material and in certain textual readings, they all represent substantially the text found in the Norwegian Book of Homilies. The four ON manuscripts derive from the same translation; they all reproduce the same extracts from the O Fren. original and in the same order. Save for the epilogue in 764 and 405, they contain nothing which cannot be traced back to the Old French poem.

Among the ON versions, N must be regarded as the best text and this is our justification for publishing it here. Less importance attaches to 696, 764 and 405. Thus we cannot agree with Magnús Már Lárusson who maintains, (*op. cit.*) that 405 probably reflects the original most closely. Lárusson thought, erroneously, that 405's title *Bernhardi Leidsla* derived from the original.

The present edition of these texts serves to give a rather clear idea not only of the first Norwegian translator's technique in dealing with *Un samedi par nuit* but also shows what happened to his translation in the hands of Icelandic copyists. Thus although the ON Debate of the Body and the Soul has no striking merit of its own, it provides nevertheless an excellent pattern of the treatment afforded foreign writings as they were absorbed into the literature of Norway and Iceland.

In the following texts all scribal abbreviations have been silently expanded; supplied letters and words, as well as corrections, have been placed in angular brackets.

TEXTS

N

Visio sancti Pauli apostoli.

Ein [P 1] læugar dag at kveldi svaf ec í hvilo mínni. oc sá ec í draume mínum myccla sion. Þat syndisc mér at líc æit lá folget unndir gulu clæðe. oc sálan var ór faren. sva syndisc mer at hon vǽre noccvið oc í barns liki. oc væinaðe sér mioc. oc var sú hin auma grøn sem graslaucr. oc henne hermdisc við licamenom oc blotaðe honum oc sagðe. Licámr ec món sægia ill tiðenðe fra þér. þvi at þu gerðir aldrigin þat er mér være til gagns. oc aldrigin helz þu æinorð hvarke við guð ne við mik. [B 27-28] Ðu hafðer alldrigin æst við guð scapara þin. þu førðeʀ honom aldrigin fórn flærð laust. þu vart íllz losta fullr þess er menn calla ágirnd. [B 33-34] Oll utrú hafðe fæst røtr sínar í brioste þino. þu hafðer þa sótt er engi maðr fær bót af. þat heitir idropicus. þat cællum vér vatncalf. þess mæir er hinn dræcr er þa sott hefir. þes mæir þystir hann. oc værðr aldrigi fullr. sva þes flæira er þu hafðer þes flæira girnðiz þu. þvi var þat synduct værc. þu hugðisc lifa ávalt. Grannar þínir oc cunniʀ menn fóro ór hæiminum. þat ræðisc þu aldrigin. born þæirra oc ærfingia gerðir

764

Þat bar firi einsetu mann nuckurn þann er auxentius het. einn laugar dagh uar ek irekiu minni ok at kuelldi sa ek isuefni mikla syn sva syndiz mer sem lik nuckud ueri folgid unnder gulu klædi en salin uar or farin sua hellz sem barns lik ueri at sia ok ueinati ser miog en su auma sal uar asynis sem gras maþkr gulr hon mælti uid likamann ok boluadi honum ok sagdi sua ek mun segia þer ill tídenndi ok þo sonn þviat þu giorder alldri guds uilia ok alldri helltu heit þín uid gud. ne uid menn. Skapara þínum ferder þu alldri flecklausa forn otrv hafder þu fasta þer ibriosti. þu hefir þa sott er eingi madr ferr bætt er ydropicus heiter þat kollum uer uazkalf þat er sva illt at bera at þvi meira sem madrinn dreckr þvi meirr þyster hann sva uartu synndugr ok uesall j agirni at þu sparder þvi meirr sem þu attir meira ok hugdiz þu lifa mundu æ ok æ. grannar þiner ok kunningiar foru af heiminum. alldri hræddiz þu at

405

Her Biriast Bernhardi Leidsla

Einn Vis oc vellærdr madr Bernhardus ad nafne var i einum Stad á leid á Einglande, honum byrtist á giætleg leidsla til eptir dæmis. Þad skede oc so sagde hann, ad eg var staddr i einu Svefnhúse, upp á eitt lꜹgardags qvöld, eg var í Reckiu minne, oc sá eg so sem Sýn, enn mier var sem Svefns, þá syndist honum sem eitt lík læge under gulu klæde, enn Salin være sem farin i burtu úr líkanum (!) oc Salin være i Barns líke, oc var nakenn, og hún veinade sier miög, oc var á syndar sem ꜹmasta Sál, so sem guler graslꜹkar, hún rædde vid Líkamann, oc bölvade honum miög miked og mælti. Ill tidinde mun eg þier segia, þvi ad þú giördir alldri Guds vilia, oc alldri hielstu þín sære, hvorke vid Gud ne menn, Skapara þínum færdir þú aldri Fórner flecklꜹsar, Ótrú hafdir þú fasta i þier, þú hefr þá Sótt, ad eingin madr fær bætta sem heitir Ydropicus, enn þad er so sem vatn Kálfa, enn sú mein seme er svo ad þvi meir þyrste hvern, er hann dreckr meir, oc verdur alldrei fullr, So varstu ꜹmr oc Syndugr, ad þvi meir sem þú átter, þvi meira sparader þú, hugdist lifa munde æ oc æ, Grannar þínir oc kuningiar eru farner af Heimenum, þá hræddist þú alldrei ad heldr, Börn þeirra oc Erfingia giördir þu seka, oc tókst fie þeirra

N

þu sæckia oc toct fe þæirra. með slícri illzu oxso ꜵuðǽfe þin. Vsǽl oc áumr. illu hæille var þu fødr at þu þionaðer æigi guði. meðan þu lifðiʀ. þvi at fyrr en þu léter lifet være mꜵl at iðraz misgerninga þínna. Nu hefir þu látet lifet oc ꜵuðǽfe mykil. þu sialfr est glataðr u sǽl oc fyrir faren. Hvar ero nu pęnningar þinir þeir er þér þótto iam góðer er þu vart vánr at samca oc iðulega at tælia. Hvar ero nu silf kær þæu er þér þotto sva fógr. Hvar ero scickior þinar oc onnur clæðe. Hvar ero nu hæstar þæir er konongar oc iarlar hofðu gefet þer. Nu mát þu ecci af nyta. her værðr þu at liggia fúl oc døynande. Frændr þínir oc kunung<i>ar hværr þæirra hefir tækit lut sín af ꜵuðøfum þinum. Jllo hęilli samkaðer þu fra þvi er þu vart alen þat allt er þu hefir nu glatat á æinum dægi. þeir aller er tækit hafa þeir muno gera sér gaman af. Ðeir hafa gort sem vargar. þeir hirða æigi hvær þa sér meðan þeir scipta fong sín. Nu sia þeir þic andaðan. þæim er enskiss ugágns af þér vón. scipt er yður vináta. heðan í fra monu þæir þic æigi ræðasc. Aller ero fiándr þinir nu. aldrigi siðan scaltu hitta vín þin þann er þore mæla við þic. oc allt møta þér þat er þu hefir fyrr gort þat scal þér nu fram kuma. [P 115] øleg er su fórn. víndr scal þec føkia. fræ þit

764

helldr. Sonu þeirra ok erfingia giorder þu sekia en tokt fe þeirra uid slika illzku lifdir þu aumr ok uesæll sidan þu uart alinn ok þionader eigi gudi af ollum hug ok idraþiz eigi illzku þinnar adr þu anndaþiz en nu ertu dauþr fyrr en þu uillder ok nu glatadr ok firifarinn Huar ero nv pengar þiner þeir er þer þottu goder ok uart iafnan uanr at safna saman iduliga telia ok uedia af oþrum huar ero silfr ker þin ok gersimar hestar þiner eda haukar er kongar gafu þer eda jarlar eda adrer tigner menn. Her u<er>dr þu nu at liggia full ok illa þefadr ok mátt nv eingiss þers niota er þu drott saman þeir allir er tekid hafa þina penga munu gera ser af gaman en minnaz þin alldri. þeir hafa gort sem uargar ero uaner huerr þeirra dregr sitt unnder sig. medann þeir skipta þinu feingi. nv sia þeir þig alldri sidan ok aungum ser þu ihug at hyggia þer hialp huad er þat undarligt hedan af þurfa þeir alldri þik at hrædaz. nv ero

405

oc ꜹdæfe, vid okr oc Illsku lifder þú ꜹmr oc vesæll, allt her til Syndugr, sidann ad þú varst Fæddr, oc þad er þó mest ad þu ydradist ei ádr enn þú lietst Lífid þitt, oc þiónadir eigi rettilega gude þínum, Nú hefr þu hardlega látid líf þitt fyrr enn þú vilder, oc med öll þín ꜹdæfe, enn þu Siálfr glatader öllu, oc ert siálfr glatadr, vesæll oc fyrer farinn, hvar eru nú peningar þíner er þier þóttu góder, oc þu varst vanr ad safna samann oc Iduglega ad telia oc ad vedia af ödrum mönnum, Hvar er nú silfr gull góts oc gull ker, edr gimsteinar, Hestar edr Hꜹkar, er Kóngar gáfu þier, oc Iarlar, Her verdr þú nú ad liggia fúll oc Deyande, oc mátt af ꜹngvu þvi neita er þú átter her i Heime, hvör þeirra hefr tekid sinn hluta i burtu, er epter lifer, af þínum ꜹdæfum, er þú safnader samann frá þvi er þú varst fæddr, þeir muna giöra sier gaman af þínum ꜹdæfum; enn minnast þo þín aldre, so hafa þeir giört sem vargar eru vaner ad hvör þeirra hefr under sier á medann þeir skipta herfange sínu nú siá þeir þig alldri sídann, oc ꜹngvum kemr i hug ad þier ad hyggia hvad skiptir þig um vináttu þeirra, Hedann af munu aller hrædast þig, nú eru þeir aller fiendr þíner, alldrege skaltu hitta þinn vin, þann er þorer ad mæla vid þig, nie ad mæta þier, þvi þad er nú fram

N

er þrotet orðet at engu. Þu toct við scírn með oleum oc crismo sneresc til guds. oc næitaðesc dioflinom. þæirri gøzsco fylgðir þu litla stund. sem þu máter sciotast lezt þu læust sannende. oc ælscaðer þu flærð er þu næitaðer guði oc sneresc áptr oc átzt þu spyo þina. Vesol scepna. þu vart illz fullr. oc lausungar fullr. oc ofundar fullr. Hordómr þín máte alldrigin fyllasc. Ðu hafðer hunang í male þino en gall í brioste þinu. meðan þu mælter slét við mann. þa hugðir þu honum flærð. þu for øfðesc eigi æiða. hǽldr fyrir sórt þu þic opt. Drotens sviki þa var engi þín make nema iudas æin. er svæic scapara sin. þu vart illa lunndaðr oc d<r>ambs fullr. oc þes kenni ec nu. fyrir þínar misgerningar missi ec himinrikis vist [P 163] oc fyrir mít høglect herbyrgie þole ec nu mykit illt. at ec ma æigi sia guð. oc enga vist með honum hafa. Ec var goleg scapað oc skír oc fræls borenn. en þu hefir gorfa mic at ambót. Sva mæla hælgar bøcr at þu

696

...ein er sellde drottin vorn skapara sinn. þu vart illa lundadr ok drambsfullr. þier kenni eg nu þviat firi þinar saker misse eg himinʀikis vistar. firi mitt ieligt herbergi þoli eg micit illt. eg ma eigi sia gud ok ongua uist med honum hafa. eg var god ok værlig skaupud. skir ok frials borin ath vpphafi en þu hefer mic illa ambatt gert. Helg<ar> bækr segia ath þu ætter mier

764

þeir fianndr þinir allir. alldri skaltu þin uin hitta þann er uid þig mælti þu tokt uid skirn ok gerdiz guds madr ok neitir fianndanum. giæsku fyllder þu skamma stunnd þegar þu uissir illt at gera þa elskader þu flærd ok fianndanns uilia gerder þu. þu uart illzku fullr uesæll madr j agirni ok lausung ok lygi ok allrar aufunndar. hordomr þinn ok likams fyst fylldiz alldri. J máli þinu hafder þu hunang en eitr ibriosti þviat þu mæltir fagrt en hugder flátt þu fordadiz eigi eida ranga at sueria helldr sortu oft rangt drottins suiki uard eingi þinn maki nema iudas einn er selldi uarn drottinn skapara þinn þu uart illa lunndaþr ok drambs fullr þess kenni ek nv þviat firi þinar sakir missi ek nu himinrikis uistar firi mitt eligt herbergi þoli ek mikid illt er ek má eigi sia gud ok onga uist med honum hafa. ek uar golig skopud skir ok frials borin af upphafi en þu hefir mig illa ambátt gort en helgar bækr segia at þu ætter mer

405

komid vid þig, sem þá hafder fyrre til giört, þú tókst vit, giördist Guds madr enn neitader fiandanum, giæsku skylder þú stunda, þegar þú visser íllt ad giöra, þá elskader þú flærd oc fiandans vilia, þú varst fullr af Ilsku, vesæll madr i ágyrne, oc Iafngyrne oc lausúng oc Illrar öfundar, Hórdómur þinn oc likams fyst fyltist aldreige, I mále þínu hafder þú oc munne Hunáng, enn gall oc Eitr i þínu brioste oc Hiarta þá er þú mælter fagurt vid menn, þa hugsader þú flærd mesta, þú fordadist ecki eyd ad vinna, Heldur Sórstu þig opt, Drottins Svikare var eingin þinn make, nema Iudas einn er sveik Drottin vorn ska<pa>ra sinn, oc þú varst illa lundadr, oc Drambs fullr, þar fyrer brenn eg nú Sárt, Fyrer þínar saker misse eg nú Himnaríkis vistar, og Fyrer miög Dírdlegt herberge, þole eg nú miked ilt, er eg má nú ei Siá gud nie neitt gott ödlast med honum ad hafa. Eg var gudleg Skepna, skírd oc Friáls borin ad upp hafe, enn þu hefr mig ambátt giört, enn helgar bækur segia svo, ad þú skylder mier

N

scyldiʀ mer þiona meðan ec var með þer. Đu gerðir alt hofuct sem hinn illi þræl gerir er svícr sin droten. oc læitar honum til ósoma. [P 183] Ec mátta þic æigi hępta oc æigi fra illu hværfa. Þa er þu comt til andláz oc vart sæccr við guð. þa vildir þu þit fe æigi scipta oc æigi [P 193] vesalingum gefa til guz þacca. þo matte varla vinnaz at þu gæfer allt fyrir guz sacar. [P 199] Đat sægir hin hælgi augustinus at sá hefir varla ennda lóc góð er avalt søfr unnz at hann kenniʀ bána vísan. þvi segi ec þér vesol vétr at þu vart avalt aflátr. þu hafðer mykin styrclæic meðan ec var í þér. [P 209] Ec gerða þic gang føran. mælande. oc høyrande oc sofande. Nu em ec fra þer scild oc þit dramb er nu fallet. þit ofléte er nu fallet. nu ertu sem fouski. Þu vart drambvisare en bersercr [P 220] oc þotesc vera hære en gron er væx á hæsta fialle. oc synisc yfir alla mork. þau trio er næst standa henne mego æigi þrifasc fyrir hennar ofriki. Sol má æigi til kuma at værma þau. þau ero ávalt í myrcre bæðe vætr oc

696

ath þiona. medan eg var med þier. en þu gerdir þat allt vm hug þier sem illur þræll sa er suikur drottinn sinn ok leitar honum ofundar. Eg matta þic eigi fra villu færa ok eigi hirtta, en er þu vart ath andlat<i> komin. ok uisser ath ath þu vart (!) andlati komin. þa villdir þu eigi skipta fie þinu ok eigi vesaulum af gefa firi guds saker. þo mundi þier illa endazt. ath þv gefer allt giorsamliga. Sva segir heilagr Augustinus ath sa hafi eigi god æfilok er sefur allt til þess ath hann deyr. Vist segi þier en vesli bukur segir salin ath þu vart latur gott ath gera. Styrk hafder þu mikin medan ek var med þier. ok af mier vartu gaufgadr. En nu er ek fra skilen. ok er nu fallit dramb þitt ok oflati. Nu er þu sem fauskr annar. Drambuisare vartþu bersekjum(!) ok þottizt hærri grein þeirri er vex ꜳ hinu hæsta bergi. ok snyz (!) vm alla morkina. sva ath onnur tre mega eigi þrifazt firi ofrvexti hennar. Solin ma eigi fa trianum þann verma sem þau

764

at þiona til medan ek uar. med þer. en þu gerder þat allt um hug þer sem illr þræll sa er suikr drottin sinn ok leitar honum usæmdar ek matta þig eigi hirta ok eigi fra uillu draga.

405

þiona, á medann eg være hiá þier, enn þú giörder allt um hug þier, oc med þier, enn þú giördir allt um hug þier, sem Illr þræll sá er svikr Drottin sinn, og leitar sier osæmdar, eg má nú eige þitt Hiarta þída, oc ei frá Illu þvi koma edr hverfa, þá er þú varst komin ad adláti (!) þínu, oc vissir ad þú varst sekr vid Gud, vilder ecki ydrast, oc ecke skipta fe þínu ad heldr, oc ei vesölum vilder þú vesölum gefa(!) fyrer Guds saker, þa mundi þier illa endast, ad þú giæfer þa allt giörsamlega, þad seger hinn helge Augustinus, ad sá mune varla hafa god æfelok er frestar ad ydrast, oc giora gott, oc gefa allt til bana, Víst sege eg þier vesæll búkr ad þú varst ávalt latr gott ad giöra, Stirkleik hafder þú oc mikin, á medann eg var med þier, af mier varstru göfugr, enn nú er eg frá þier seld, oc er nú oflæti þitt oc Dramb nidr fallid, Nú ertu sem fölske annar, Drambvísare varstu enn Berserkr nockr, oc þóttist vera hærre enn Eik, sú er stendr á enu hædsta fialle, oc sínist um alla Mörkina oc önnr tré meigu ei þrífast fyrer ofr vexti hennar, oc Sólin má ei þeim vöxt gefa er þaꝛ þurfa

N

sumar. Slícr vartu vesal oc meðan þu lifðir. fa tøcr cristin maðr mátte æigi hia þér vera ne hefiasc. [B 231-32] engi máte hia þer vera er ægi scyldi hungraðr oc þyrstr vera. Ðu rænter alla oc fargaðer unndir þic. nu ero þæir fegnir u farnaðr þins. oc mæla sín í millum Synir þinir oc þæir er vinir þínir cœllaðosc. Faðer vár hann var ricr rytta. hann cugaðe sína granna oc gerðe sér alla lyða. hann oðlaðesc mykit riki. oc drap fyrir margan mann fyrir riki þat er sva mykit er. nu tœkum vér døme eptir honum oc leitum við at fá bornum varum onnur riki iam mykil. þolum æigi þat. at sa se granne vár er æigi lúte unndir oss. oc æigi þore upp hefia hofuð. Verum sem licaster fæðr varum. hann var avalt vikingr. leggium þioð unndir oss þa erom vér synir hans. hann unne óss almykit. sva æigum vér at unna varum bornum. Vesol scepna er tu. hus þín oc hyski stændr nu eptir þic þér til enscis gagns, þvi at aldrigin scal vera gorr æin almosa fyrir þer ne fyri mér. en ef gorr váére þa myndi occr þat ecki stoða. Nu can ec sægia þér tiðende er þér man æingi fagnaðr at vera. kona þin hefir gipsc manne þæim er hon kaus sér meðan þu lát á nastrám. [P 293] hon let at dæuðe þecte henne mykit embætte er þec toc. langt þotte henni þit líf oc illt þit felag. nu hefir hon

696

þurfa ath hafa oc þa ero þau jmyrkrum, bædi vetur ath (!) sumar. Slikr vartþu vesall madr medan þu lifder. fatæker kristner menn mattu eigi hia þier vera. þviat þv rænter þa ok færder vnder þic. Syner þiner fagna þinum oforum. ok segja sva sin amille. Ok fader var var rikur madr ok kugadi sina granna ok gerdi sier hlydna af sinum ʀikdome enn suma drap hann. Nu taukum vier dæmi af honum ok leitum vid ath fa baurnum vorum eigi minne penninga en hann fieck oss. ok þolum eigi ath sa sie nie einn ath eigi luti til vor. Verum sem likazter fedr vorum. hann var micill vikingur ok manndrapamadr ok var hann firi þvi micill madr firi sier. leggium nu alla vnder oss. þa erum vier syner hans. Vesæl skepna er eg segir salin er slik dæmi ero tekin af þier ok af þinum otrunadi. Hus þitt ok hyski stendr nu hier til eingskis gagns þviat alldri er ein olmasa gier efter þig. Nu kan eg segja þier þau tidinde er þier munu ill þickia. ok eigi fagnadr heyra. Kona þin hefer nu giftz manni þeim sem hon kaus sier. þa þu latt ꜳ nastram. Hon lætr sier illa þickia syni þina. Hon hefer nu vngan mann ok vænan tekid

405

ad hafa, þꜷ eru i myrkrum vetr oc sumar, Slíkr vartu vesæll madr medann þú lifder Fátækr kristin madr mátti eingin hiá þier vera þú rænter alla, oc færder undir þig fé þeirra Nú urdu þeir fegner þínum daꜷda. Syner þíner mæla svo sín á mille, Fader vor var okr karl oc kúgade granna sína oc giörde sier hlidna med ofríke, marga Drap hann af þeim, nú tökum vier dæme af honum oc þolum myrkr ad vier látum síga, vid líkiumst epter dæme födr vors, þvi hann var mikill madr til víkingskapar, oc var manndrápare, leggium vier under alla, þá erum vier Syner hans, Hann unne oss mikid, oc all miög, so eigum vier ad unna vorum Börnum, Vesöl skepna er sú, er til slíkra Dæma er tekid af þinum verkum oc til rædum, Hús þitt oc Hiske stendr hér til einkis gagns. þviad aldrei er giörd nein Olmusa fyrer þier nie mier, af þinu gótse. Enn kann eg ad segia þier tídinde, þꜷ er þier munu þikia ill, oc ei fögr á ad líta, kona þín er manne gipt, þeim er hún kaꜷs sier á medann þú låst a Börunum, hún hefur nú úngan mann oc vænann tekid, sá þiker henne betre, er henne þiónar

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tækit unngan mann. sa þyccir henne vǽnne. sa þionar henne sem hana lystir til. þvi hefir hon æst við hann. vit tu hvat hon scal gera fyrir sæl þina. Engi er sa maðr i husi þinu. er þore næmna þic. Hvat scal ec flæira umm røða. engan léz tu eptir þec er þér vǽre trur. þvi er hvær sa hæimscr er sǽter þvi at annar gere eptir hans daga. Đu vart illr oc sva vándr at þu røcter hvarke guð ne goða menn. þu sotter alldrigin guðs hus at føra forn nema fyri manna male. Postola guðs eða aðra hælga menn dyrcaðer þu aldrigin. nu sculu þæir enga biorg þér væita. hældr mantu vera dømdr fyrir illzu þina. En ec vesol vetr. þvi þole ec hungr oc þorsta oc ræenta ec þo engan mann. oc ænscis manz fe át ec ne drac ec. oc engan þorða ec at døma. Þu ætter at þola þesse pinsl fyrr en ec. nu dǿme guð almatigr occar í millum. [P 357] Licamr meðan þu vart hæil þa var tu morgum manne þecr. en nu er tu hverium læiðr. þu ilmir illa oc þinar vistir ero í illum stað. oc þat er maclect fyrir illzu sacar þinaʀ.

696

sier til samlags sa þicker henne betri er henne þionar efter sinne villd. þvi ann hon honum betur en þier. vitþu þat nu ath hon vill ecki gera firi þinne sal. enge er sa j hennar husi ath þore þic ath nefna firi henne. Huad skal vm þat ʀæda. aunguan leitz (!) þu þann efter þig er þier være fulltrue huorke frænda nie vin. en sa er heimskr er odrum truir betur en sier. Goda daga vartu illr sva ath þu ottadizt horke gud nie menn. þu sotter alldri guds hus ath færa honum forner nema þu gerdir firi ordlofs saker. Postula guds. ok adra helga menn dyrkader þu alldre. Nu skulu þeir þvi ongva hialp veita þier. Helldr skulu þeir firidæma þic. En eg vesaul veittur þoleg hungur ok þorsta ok margar pisler adrar firi þinar saker. eigi af þvi ath eg rænta ne einn mann ok engskis manz fe át eg ne drack. ok engi vsidr var drygdr ath minum vilia. Medan þu vart hier j heime varttþu morgum virkr. en nu ertu ollum leidr ok vistir þinar j illum staudum ætladar. ok er þat mackligt firi þinar ilsku saker. Dæmi gud nu ockar jmillum. þviat hann veit huad eg villda at væri. eda huad þinar afgerder ero.

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af gódum vilia, því ann hún honum betr enn þier, vittu nú hratt, hún giörer þad, eingin er sá i þínu Húse, ad þori ad nefna þig fyrer henne, hvad kantu ad ræda, ꜹngvann vilder þú eiga eptir þig fulltída nie vin, Sá er heimskr er betr vill ödrum enn siálfum sier, um iafn mikla hlute, þvi higg ad, Nær þu hafder góda daga, varstu illr oc so vondr, ad þu ræktar hvörke gud nie menn, þú sokter alldre guds hús, ad færa honum fórner, nema þú giörder fyrer ordlofs saker, Postula guds oc alla Helga menn heidrader þú aldre, þvi skulu þeir þier ꜹngva glede vinna, heldr skulu þeir med gude fyrer dæma þig, enn eg ꜹm oc vesöl þole húngr oc margar pínsler, ei af þvi ad eg rænta neinn mann ne Dræpa (!), edr nockr Svik drigde, ad mínum vilia, medann þú varst her i Heime þá varstu hraꜹstr, enn nú ertu öllum leidur oc nú eru vistir þínar i Illum Stad, Nu dæme gud á millum ockar, þvi hann veit hvad eg vilde ad þú fordadest, oc veit hann þínar adgiörder etc.

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Þa [P 569] svaraðe licámr salenne oc mælte hart við salo. Ráðalaus sála illo hæilli var tu scapað. þu røger míc fastlega en ec þic. Nu hyggium vít at bæðe umm þetta róg oc verði sa dømdr til dauða. er rangara hefir. Ec em buin at gera sát ef þu vilt mér lyða at vít bæðe fyri þina illzcu hofum mist ælífan fagnað. En þat er maclect er þu hefir mist þvi at þu hugðir fyrr en gort være. þvi at hvetvitna er hugt fyrr en gort se. Ðu systiʀ þat æit er illt var oc eggiaðer þu mic til. en ec lydda raðum þinum. Adamr myndi oc æigi syngasc ef æigi vére ormr oc a æggian kono. sva æggiaðer þu mik. blotað værð þu. Droten mín scapara væit þat at ec var engu verri en þu. [P 619] þvi at ec afrøcta scapara mín fyrir á eggian sal minnaʀ. En við þic at mæla sæl þat er sannast er. ec var nøyðr til at lifa eptir þér. mér myndi ecci stoða at hafa usǽt við þic. [P 631] þvi at ec var gorr or moldo. [P 637] ec var þit ílát. þu qvæictir mic sva sem guð vildi í ondverðo þa er hann scapaðe ocr. hann festi ocr saman oc endr fødde af scirn sinni. Vit qvæðum nei við dioflinum oc við ollum hans vercum. vit tocum ócr hald þar er guð var. er mát sic sva litils at hann toc hold fyrir sakar vꜵ́rar. en siðan let næglasc á cros. þvi at hann vildi <þ>va syndir várar oc hina forno synd [P 658] er adamr hafðe aflat oss [P 663] Enga sina scepno vildi guð ælsca iam væl sem ós ef vér brytim æigi hans boð orð. með fiandans á æggian. Ðu gerðir at ec kenda illt. oc at ec gecc í illan stað [P 678] oc ec lꜵug. [P 699] oc allt illt þat er ec gerðe með þinni á æggian. Nu er þat

696

Þa svarar likamin. ok mælti hart vid salina ʀadalaus varttu skaupt sagdi likamin. þu rægder mic en eg þic. Eg er buin ath gera þat med sannendum ok reittum (!) domi ath vid haufum firi þinar saker himinʀikis fagnadar (!). ok þeirar giezsku allrar er ockur var ætlud af. Guds miskunn ok veri makligt ath þu hefder einn mist en eigi eg þviat þv fystir mic illz firi þui ath allt er fyr hugsad en gert. enn eg hludda aumur ok vesall þinum radum. ok gerda eg fyst þina hlyd þu nu dæmum þerssum. Adam en fyrsti madr mundi eigi saurgazt hafa. ef eigi tælldi kona hans hann. Sva ok mundi eigi afskeidis ganga ʀad mitt ef eigi ylli eggian þin. Bauluod sier þu er þu firrer mic sannendum ok eilifri sæmd. Drottin mic (!) eg veit ath eg em verri enn hundr. þviat eg afʀæktumz þic skapara minn firi eggian salu minar. En nu mundi eg þers allz

764

þa suarar likaminn

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Nú svarade titrande líkamin. oc mælti hart vid Sálena, Rádalꜷs varstu ordin, þú rægder mig Iafnann meir enn eg þig, oc nú higgium vid ad dæmum, ad verde þad Dæmt ockur, til Eilífs Dꜷda, sem rángara hefr ad mæla oc ad giöra þad med sannindum oc rettum dóme, er vid höfumm sakir þín oc þinnar ilsku mist Himnaríkis vistar oc þeirrar giæsku allrar er útvalder fá af miskun Guds, enn miög líkt være, ad þú ein hefder mist þad, þar ed þú fyster mig, af þvi ad allt er fyrre hugsad enn giört, enn eg hlídde ávalt rádum þínum ad eg giörde fysn þína. Hlíd þú nú Dæmum þeim ad Adam hinn fyrste madr, munde ei hafa Syndgast ef ei hefde Kona hans giört þad oc eggiun hennar oc Ormsins, So munde oc ei heldr afskeidis geingid hafa rád mitt, ef ei hefde ollad Eggiun þín, oc

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auð synt at alldrigin mynda ec syngasc ef æigi vǽre þu með mér. oc eigi mynda ec rørasc hældr en stæin oc mynda ec þa æigi í hælviti cuma. Nu vilda ec guð þes biðia at ec vǽre [P 718] æinhvær onnur scepna. oc æigi þurfta ec þa luti ræðasc er nu rǽðumc ec. [P 741] þat at mín uprisning er mér man vera hvarke goð ne fógr. oc mon vera fyrir þinar sakar. Gæfe guð sunr mario at loken vǽre þin æfe. þa myndi hvarke occat til hælvitis kuma. Hvat stoðar mér þat er ec mæle nema ecki. [P 760] occar u fagnaðr man æigi aptr sæigiasc. [P 799] Nu være þat mín vili at ec mætta þic drepa. þvi at þu scyldir stýra mér oc føra til hafnar. en þu førðir mic utan borz. oc drectir míc á diupi. Með illum styris manne mínum em ec cumen í pinsl. þu ert á vita værð. þu scyldir fyrir mer raða. en þu hefir spilt fyrir báðom ocr. [P 837] Ec var guðs hus. nu hefir þu gort þiofs fylsni. [P 840] E<c> var bønar hus. nu em ec hordóms buð ef noccor maðr vildi í bua. [P 853] En siðan þu scildisc við mik

696

idrazt ef koster væri. en nu er of seinad. en nv vid þic ath ræda sala min þa er þat sannara at eg var næyddr til ath lifa efter þvi mier mundi ecki stoda andbrot vid þic nie vsætti. þviat a skepnu ockari skilda eg þat at eg var or jordu ger ok moldu. ok at þvi skal eg verda þa er þu skilr vid mic. en þu skalt æ ok æ lifa ok eigi deyia. sem gud baud ock<r> þa hann skapade ockr. ok feste saman. þa kuodum vid nei vid fian<danum ok> hans ilsku ok verkum. Ver jattum skapara ockrum ok tokum ockr < hald þar er gud var. hann > virtir sva litels er allz ꜳ koste ꜳ himne <ok jordu at hann> villdi ockr vardveita fra ollum vandrædum sva þessam(!) heim<s sem annars>og hann tok heit þau abak er ver giengum vnder vid...

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Bölvud siertu, er fyrer mig svo öllum sannindum oc eilifre sæmd tapad hefr, enn eg veit ad eg er verre enn Hundr, þvi ad eg afrækiumst skapara mínum, af Eggiun þinne, enn nú munda eg þess ydrast være kostr þess, enn nú er of Seint ad ydrast, er eg þad vid þig ad ræda Sála mín, ad eg var neyddr til, ad lifa epter Holdsins vild, enn mier mun ei Stoda, ad hafa ávitr vid þig, um þetta er ósætt, þvíad af rædu ockarri skylda eg þad, ad eg var úr Iördu skapadr, oc moldu, oc ad hinu sama skal eg verda, þu skilr vid mig, enn þú skalt æ oc æ lífleg vera, sem Gud bad ad verda skilde, þá er hann skapade þig oc Stadfeste þa sögdum vid nei vid fianda oc öllum hans Verkum og vid Iátudum Skapara ockrum, oc tókum ockur hald þar er Gud var, hann virte ockr ecke lítils er allt á Koste á Himne oc Iördu ad hann vilde ockr vernda fyrer öllum vandrædum, oc meinum, svo annars heims, sem þessa, hölludum ei af heitum þeim, er þess geinge under vid hann, oc Iátudum slíku, Gud vill angva sína Skepnu fyrer líta heldr elska þad sem ad hans vilia er giört. Nú vilda eg þad af Gude ætíd hafa, ad vera sú skepna önnur, ad ei þyrfte slíkt ad hrædast, ad upprísa verda, er hvörke mun verda fögr nie gód, oc minst Slíkum, mier oc mínum. Giæfe Gud Mariusonurin, ad lokid være þessu öllu, munde hvörke ockar til Helvítis koma, nie til nockra Vandræda, oc ecke Stodar mig ad mæla vid þig, þvi ad ockar ófögnudr mun ei batna af þessum rædum þótt ad vid höldum leingr á, enn þad veit Gud ad eg skylde Dreped hafa þig ef eg mætta, af því ad þú skylder mier stírt hafa oc til Hafnar færa, enn þú færdir mig utan bords oc Drektir mier sem Illr Stíga madr, eg var Guds skapadr, enn þú hefr þióafa filke út valed mier oc hórdóms búd, enn nú sídan er þú skildest vid

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þa sótte engi maðr til mín. oc engi maðr vildi mér biorg væita. sva hefir þu fyrir mér spilt. Nu hefir þu mic røgðan en ec þíc. oc þesse deild man ocr gera ecci nema mæin. Nu scal tu væita svor. en vit þu þat at mér er rangt boðet en guð hann væit þat væl. [P 871] Nu late hann þat vita þa menn er enn lifa. þvi at ecci stuðar þat at þæim se sagt er dæuðir ero. þvi at of siðla er. En occar hágr er sva comenn at ocr hǽlpr ecci hvat sem fyrir ocr er gort. þat man ocr vera til engra lausna.

Enn mæler sá er þenna dræum sa. [P 955] Sva syndisc mér at bucren lagðesc niðr oc rétte sic sva hart at kistu fialar tóco at braca. en sialfr hann andvarpaðe sva sem maðr er andasc vil. En sálan þa er hon sa þat. þa toc hon at rǽðasc oc øymde sec oc mælte sva. [P 968] Vesol scepna em ec at ec scal bíða guðs ræiði. Guð hvi metr þu þic þes at syna áfl þit við iam u styrct vǽtr sem ec em. [P 981] þvi at þu scapaðer mic dauðlegan. oc meðan ec mátta lifa. þa var engi sá dagr at ec scyldi æigi syndir gera. oc engi maðr annar lifir sva at hann syngasc æigi. Vesol er su scepna er slict er fyrir lagt. Guð scapare min hvi scapaðer þu mic oc ofsacaðer siðan. Undarlect þyccir hvi þu visdóms brunnr scapaðer þa luti er æigi gafosc væl. Ðeir aller er fara til hælvitis ecci monu þæir lofa miscun þina. oc þeir er en lifa í veroldo. þæir þrǽtta sin í millum. En flestir mæla sva at þæim þyccir unndarlect er þin scepna scal fyrir farasc siðan þu mazt son þin sva lítils at þu lézt hann taca manlega ásyn.

764

gud sa er ueit hugt ok ohugt gort ok ogort hann ueit at þu hefir rangara at mæla iockrum uidskiptum ok þat munu þeir menn uita er en lifa. en talar sa er synina sa. sva synndiz mer seger hann sem þa legdiz bukrinn nidr ok riettiz sva hart i kistu fialarnar at þær brotnudu uid ok annduarpadi sva sem til anndar tæki en þa er salin ser þat tok hon at ueina ser miog uesol skepna er ek ok aum sagdi hon.

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kom eingin madr til mín, oc einginn madr vill siá mig sídann, oc er þú skildir þad, hefr þú spilt fyrer mier, oc nú hefr þú rægdan mig, meir enn eg þig, Nú skaltu vita ad Gud er sá er veit hugsad oc óhugsad, giört oc ógiört, þad oc hvört rángara hefr ad mæla, i ockar vidskiptum, Nú lætur hann vita fá, ad eige Stodar þad þeim sie sagt, sem dⱥder eru, þad er ofleinge vid beded, ad þeir hefde nockud næme af ockrum Hag og higgdu ad giör, hvad vid kemr ockar hægdum þvi ockar hagr er so Illr oc Herfelegr ad ei er ad undra þo hann leite Ills stadar þar so var honum fyrer giört ad hann kiæmist þangad sídara sinne. Og þótt (!) hann líta er drⱥmin sá, ad likaminn legdist nidr, oc rettist, so ad allar kistu fialernar brökudu vid, oc ad hann andvarpade iafn sem madr sá, er andast tekr. Enn er Sálin sá þad, þá tók hún ad veina sier, oc mælti, vesöl Skepna var eg, oc ⱥm sköpud, er eg skal hafa Guds reide, oc missa Eilífrar Sæmdar, fyrer Saker Ilsku Herbergis míns, oc vondsku er eg hafda, þvi Drottin minn metur þú þig til þess, ad sína mátt þinn, vid Jafn ostirk vætte, sem eg er Drottin; oc þvi Skapader þú mig til þess ⱥma Skepnu, ad þú lietst óskap þad fyrir liggia sídar, undr stórt virdist þad mier, ad vísdoms brunnurin skapte þa hlute er gáfust Diöflenum sídar, þviad þeir er fara til Helvítis, munu ei lofa þig Iller menn lifa þeir i Heimenum er þræta á milli sín, ad flestir mæla svo um þetta ad ónátturlegt þike þad ad þín Skepna skule fyrerfarast sídann ad þu matst son þinn so litils, ad hann tók manndomlegt

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Fyrir vára lꜵusn þolde hann pínsl oc var á cros nægldr. [P 1019] þvi næst þa þolde hann dꜵuða. Nu er þat unndarlect hvi fianden er sva diarfr at hann þorer misgranda oc mis þyrma þvi er guðs sonr þolðe dauða fyrir. Oc sva væinaðe sér su sál. [P 1063] En i þvi como fiandr oc toko hana á brꜵut oc báro hana sva u þyrmilega sem vargar marger bera sꜵuð æin. En hon øpte ascrámlega. [P 1076] en þat stoðaðe henne ecci. þvi at dómr hennar vár þa loken.

764

ok þa ueinadi salin sva miog seger auxentius en þa komu fianndr ok drogu salina se<m> uargar þa er þeir taka marger einn saud ok þeir ero sem gradgaztir en salan æfti afskræmiliga en þat stodaþi þa ecki þviat þa uar domr hennar lokinn ok uard skilnadr þeirra slikr. en drottinn seger augustinus byskup syndi uitran þessa firi uarar saker at uer skilldum nuckura forsio ueita brædrum uorum. þa er gud hafdi skapat adam mælti hann sva se her adam lif þat er þer er hugat firi hlydni. se her ok dauþa þann er þer er hugadr firi uhlydni sva id sama hefir drottin uid oss mællt þviat uit ok skilning hefir hann oss lied at gera gott en sia uid illu ladi sa oss til eilifrar dyrþar er ollum er betri ok ædri ok lifir einn gud iþreningu utan ennda amen.

405

Hold med Mannlegre Syn, þolde pínsl oc Dꜹda, oc heriade i Helvíte, oc batt Fiandan, oc leysti þadan alla sína vine, oc reis sidann upp af Dꜹda, med ó umrædelegri Dírd á þridia Dege, þo er Fiandinn so diarfur ad hann þorer ad granda edr misþyrma þinne Skepnu, Veinade sier þá miög þesse madur, enn fiendur komu oc tóku Salina, oc Dróu hana sem vargar, þá er þeir taka marger ein Sꜹd, nær þeir eru sem grimmaster oc grádugaster, enn hún æpte allmiög oc af Skræmelega, enn þad Stodade ecke, þvi ad Dómur hennar var endadr, oc med þad vard skilnadr þeirra slíkr ad Sinne, En Drottin vor synde þessa Syn fyrer vorar Saker, ad vier skyldum nockra forsión veita vorum brædrum af þvi ad oss Stodar ei, þótt vier kennum Sálunum völd af gierda vorra, Líkamer Sálunum oc Sáler Líkömunum, þviad eingin völd meigum vier kenna Skapara vorum, er hann hefur á þessa lund mælt vid oss, sem hann mælte fyrr vid Adam þá er han hafde Skapad hann oc alla Skepnuna, aller hlutir eru fyrer þínar Saker giörfer, Dꜹdin fyrer óhlídne, en Líf fyrer Hlídne, Slíkt hid sama hefur hann oss og gefid sem Adam vit oc s<k>ilning ad fordast Dꜹdann fyrer ohlídne, enn finna Eilíft líf fyrir vardveislu Guds Heilagra Bodorda oc hlióta so med Gudi Dírd oc sælu án enda, hvöria ad sönnu veiti hann oss med Syninum oc Heilögum Anda, Amen.

Mediaevalia

REMARKS ON BISHOP THOMAS BRINTON'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE SERMONS IN MS HARLEY 3760

Brinton's authorship of the sermons in Ms. Harley 3760, recently challenged by Professor H. G. Richardson,[1] is a matter of too much consequence to be relinquished without further examination, since the traditional ascription of this collection has made it of great value to students of the fourteenth century. The prominence of its presumed author has seemed a guarantee against the merely eccentric, and the substantial bulk of the collection has seemed a safeguard against mistaking a casual remark for a basic view, since the large number of sermons made it possible to determine the writer's enduring judgements. It would be particularly unfortunate to have the value of the collection thus diminished just when it has become widely available in a modern edition.

The question is a simple one: did Bishop Brinton compose and presumably preach these particular sermons? Obviously they are not original in the modern sense of the word; the author borrowed as copiously from the traditional sources as any fourteenth-century prelate. But if Brinton composed these sermons, if he put them into their present form, then what one finds in them, borrowed or not, has some sort of relevance to the fourteenth century.

Professor Richardson's position is not quite clear, but apparently he would concede that at least most of these sermons were indeed thus composed by Bishop Brinton. On the basis of internal evidence he specifically concedes to him two sermons, N^os^.32 and 57, and he regards another, N°. 4, as possibly by him. The list can be extended. Sermon 78 was preached *Apud Roffensem, pro domino Edwardo principe Wallensis*, according to the rubric, and I think Professor Richardson would agree that the famous "Rat Parliament" sermon, N°. 69, is also by Brinton, since the speaker refers to himself as "Roffensis," (320)[2] and shortly thereafter clearly alludes to Alice Perrers (321). In addition, some of these sermons can be assigned to the period of Bishop Brinton's episcopate,[3] and another substantial group were preached at Rochester.[4] Consequently, I would suggest that it is a reasonable assumption that at least the bulk of these sermons were indeed composed and shaped by him, even though, in accordance with standard medieval practice, he borrowed heavily from his predecessors.

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[1] H. G. Richardson, rev. of *The Sermons of Thomas of Brinton, Bishop of Rochester* (1373-1389) ed. Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin. The Camden Society, Third Series, Nos. LXXV-LXXXVI (London, 1954), *Speculum* XXX (1955), pp. 267-271.

[2] All references in parentheses are to page numbers of the above edition.

[3] The reference in Sermon 85 (387-7) to the Great Schism would seem conclusive as to date, as are the references in Sermons 99 (457-8) and 102 (469) to the Peasants' Revolt. The numerous references to the heresies of Wyclif are at least suggestive of Brinton's episcopate.

[4] Cf. Sermons, 23, 55, 80, 94, 97, 102, 104 and 105. A close scrutiny could, I think, double the list.

I believe that Professor Richardson would agree with this assumption. His point is that not *all* of these sermons are by Brinton, that older sermons have somehow intruded themselves into the collection, and that, as a consequence, each individual sermon must be dated before it can be of any use to the historian. This position seriously reduces the value of the collection, since individual medieval sermons are notoriously difficult to date.

Professor Richardson's objection to the traditional attribution of this sermon collection is based upon certain passages which imply social conditions which presumably no longer obtained in the late fourteenth century, and hence the sermons in which such passages are found he would assign to an earlier period.[5] But I should like to call attention to another kind of internal evidence — evidence which does not date any particular sermon but which demonstrates that the whole collection is the product of one mind. Hence, if even four or five sermons are unmistakably by Bishop Brinton — and certainly this is beyond dispute —then the whole collection can reasonably be presumed to be his, and we must make what we can of social anomalies.

This internal evidence is, of course, the similarity of phrase and anecdote from one sermon to the next. Obviously such evidence, when it is occasional, proves nothing about late medieval sermons, in view of the common body of source materials upon which they all draw. But such similarities in large quantity do, I suggest, indicate common authorship. No preacher reading Bromyard's *Summa* remembered the whole of it. Only certain things stuck in his mind, and he tended to use these over and over, in different contexts. All of his preaching depended, then, upon a limited selection of the material available, and hence each sermon bears a relationship to the *corpus*. This is unmistakably true of this collection. Considering its bulk, the number of specific quotations, *exempla* and so forth is astonishingly limited. The result is that each sermon of the collection, a few short devotional pieces aside, is bound to the whole by literally dozens of very specific echoes of thought and phrase.

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[5] Whatever the correct explanation of the anomalies in this collection, the explanation of Professor Richardson cannot be right, since the very passage upon which he proposes a date before 1290 for Sermon 91 is found in another Sermon in the collection, No. 84. In No. 91 the passage reads:

> "Cur in hac ciuitate gloriosa in qua debet florere forcius fides firma tot perfidi Iudei fauorabiliter sunt permissi, nec persuasionibus vel doctrinis tot patrum sanctorum, toi prelatorum, tot doctorum ad fidem Christi a suis erroribus transferuntur, cum tamen vulgaris opinio predicet euidenter quod multi Iudei libentissime fierent Christiani, si post conuersionem non timerent diuiciarum suarum dispendium vel iacturam?" (423).

The passage in Sermon 84 reads:

> "Sed salua pace debita cuiuscumque admiracio non modica me percellit cur in hac ciuitate gloriosa in qua deberet florere forcius fides firma, cur 'perfidi Iudei' tot fauorabiliter sunt permissi, nec persuasionibus vel doctrinis tot patrum sanctorum tot prelatorum, tot doctorum a suis erroribus conuertuntur. Audeo dicere quod si quilibet nostrum in gradu suo esset ita diligens et intentus pro animabus doctrinandis et saluandis sicut est pro beneficiis multiplicandis et pecuniis congregandis, statim impleret effectualiter illud psalmiste dicentis, *Domine docebo iniquos vias tuas et impii ad te conuertentur.*" (383).

But Sermon 84 was preached in honor of St. Louis, who was not canonized until 1309, nearly twenty years after Richardson's extreme limit.

This obviously cannot be shown fully, but Sermon 91, whose authorship Professor Richardson specifically challenged, can serve as an example of the kind of connection that each sermon makes with the whole collection. The simplest way to show this interlocking is to point out the passages paralleled elsewhere as they occur in this particular sermon.

The proheme of Sermon 91 quotes an unidentifiable remark of Saint Bernard: the Virgin Mary *magis placuit Deo ex humilitate quam virginitate*. This is echoed in Sermon 26, which asserts that *Marie humilitas plus Deo placuit quam virginitas* (102). But also, a similar idea is found in two other sermons, N^os^. 38 and 49, to the effect that Mary, *licet ex virginitate complacuit, tamen ex humilitate concepit* (165, 221). This is from Bernard's *De Laudibus Virginis Matris*. It is possible that Saint Bernard was echoing himself, but it is also possible that Bishop Brinton inferred the first quotation from his memory of the second.

In the introduction of the theme in Sermon 91 several echoes of other sermons are found. In the first place, as Professor Richardson notes, the romantic story of Thomas's origins is found in Sermon 4 (3-4). And as before noted, the very passage which seemed to prohibit the Brinton attribution is found in Sermon 84 in a slightly altered form.[6] Furthermore, the story of Cyrus stimulating his troops to battle (414), too long to quote here, is found in Sermon 53 (237). As is characteristic of this collection, the passages are verbally so close as to leave their relationship in no doubt, and yet they are by no means identical. Generally, it would seem that Brinton habitually relied upon his memory, but he obviously knew his materials well.

The next episode in Sermon 91 is of the holy monk of Jerusalem returning from the grave to testify to St. Thomas's heavenly coronation. This story, somewhat abbreviated from an anonymous *Vita*, is found in very nearly the same words in Sermon 30 (125) and with some variation in phraseology in Sermons 4 (4), 12 (44) and 104 (481-2). All three of the latter add the detail, which is in neither Sermon 91 nor the source, that St. Thomas's superior position in heaven came about from the fact that he suffered for the liberty of the church as well as for the faith. It should be further noted that Sermon 92 refers the reader to the *sermone proximo precedente* (425) for this particular story.

The *processus* of Sermon 91 is connected with a good many more sermons. In the course of his praise of St. Thomas, Brinton attacks modern ecclesiastics who, unlike the patron Saint of the English,

> Dum sunt pauperes et in gradu vel substancia mediocres, quasi quotidie celebrant, carnem dom(in)ant, de mundo non curant, Dei mandata cum omni diligencia perficiunt et obseruant, qui dum postea per pinguia beneficia vel dignitatum culmina exaltati, vix missam audiunt, mundum diligunt, et in tantum carni inseruiunt quod sacras manus quas digne debent intingere in sanguine saluatoris, tangendo carnalia et lubrica non verentur sine erubescencia polluere.

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[6] See footnote above.

This same notion appears in no less than six other sermons in this collection. In four instances, in Sermons 14 (47), 48 (217), 77 (353) and 96 (444), the phraseology is very similar, although in no case is it identical. Sermon 48 is typical of this group:

> Hoc eciam est contra multos ecclesiasticos qui cum sunt pauperes non promoti quasi cotidie celebrant, de mundo non curant, carnem castigant, Dei mandata cum omni diligencia perficiunt et obseruant, qui tamen ad beneficia pinguia exaltati vix missam audiunt, nullam dicunt, mundum diligunt, carni inseruiunt et magnatum obsequiis occupati, sua beneficia derelinqu(u)nt, et ea officiari per mercenarios faciunt et permittunt.

Both of the other passages show the same kind of alteration. The longer passage, in Sermon 79, shows this change most clearly (the other being in Sermon 104, p. 477):

> Et hoc est contra ecclesiasticos et religiosos, qui primo anno ordinacionis vel professionis in continua memoria habent Deum, nunc orantes, nunc ieiunantes, nunc vigilantes, nunc missas deuotissime celebrantes et in nullo nisi Deo et sacre religionis obseruanciis delectantur... Statim post spiritu malo ducti, incipiunt celestium obliuisci, in carnalibus et terrenis adeo delectari, quod in eis deuocio frigescit, caro inardescit, mundus iuuenescit et primus feruor ordinis euanescit. (360)

The reason for the difference is obvious; in the second passage the author has adapted the basic idea, which is no doubt borrowed, to his audience, which included monks as well as seculars.

In the course of his invariable comparison of the days of St. Thomas with his own day, Brinton accuses the subordinates of the great : they are *veritatis oppressores, adulacionis artifices, fabri laudis, figuli falsitatis* (418). In the next sermon these very terms are applied to the confessors and penitentiaries of lords, *pro maiori parte* (424), and in Sermon 17 they are applied to confessors of the great (69). In Sermon 30 it is remarked that Saint Thomas would not keep in his service *adulacionis artifices, fabricos laudis, figulos falsitatis* (124).

Likewise, the complaint in Sermon 91 about *isti sacerdotes Sathane semper cantantes 'placebo,' numquam 'dirige,'* is echoed in Sermon 68: *de adulatoribus sacerdotibus Sathane, eo quod semper cantant 'placebo' et numquam dirige* (311). The same conception appears in Sermon 92; when the church is under attack all prelates are either silent or they sing '*placebo*;' they never sing '*dirige*' (424).

The three reasons for this conduct singled out in Sermon 91 are that prelates *officia vel beneficia consequuntur... ne ab hiis quos corriperent obprobria paciantur...* or *vt eis placeant et cari apud homines teneantur* (418). The first two reasons are again offered in Sermon 84 for the same deficiency: *sic officia et beneficia pinguia consequantur.. vel ne ab hiis quos debeant corripere obprobria paciantur* (382). In Sermon 13 all three reasons are again proposed, although in quite different lanauge:

> Vel quia nimis mundiales effecti humanam graciam perdere metuunt et formidant, vel quia beneficiis sufficientibus non contenti ad majora et pinguiora conscendere ambiunt et procurant, vel quia vano timore concussi plus timent eum qui potest ad momentum in bonis transitoriis et corporibus ledere et punire quam eum qui potest bona, corpus, et animam perdere in gehennam. (52)

This last passage, with its doubled verbs, is, in terms of language and style, much less characteristic of the collection as a whole than the first; I would suggest that it was borrowed and became the source for the quotation in Sermons 84 and 91.

The *processus* ends with the conception of the office of the priest, who has *primatum Abel, patriarchatum Abrahe, gubernacionem Noe, ordinem Malechisedech, dignitatem Aaron, auctoritatem Moysi, potestatem Petri, vnctionem Christi* (418). This conception appears in four other sermons: Nos. 4 (6), 28 (114), 80 (363) and 85 (386). Furthermore, this kind of series is unusually common in this collection. In three sermons, Nos. 56 (255), 66 (302), and 104 (477) Christ is described as having been *figuratiue occisus in Abel, in Noe nudatus, in Ysaac colligatus.. in Iacob persecutus, in Ioseph venditus*, and so forth, with minor variations in word order. And at least three times, in Nos. 56 (258), 78 (356) and 88 (400), Christ's superiority is asserted by a comparable series of comparisons.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the comparison of the Passion of St. Thomas to that of Christ, found at the very end of Sermon 91, occurs also, in a general way, in Sermon 92 (423) and in Sermon 104 (480).

A good many of these quotations are obviously medieval commonplaces; certainly no one echo, perhaps no five echoes, would permit any hypothesis as to relationship. But this particular sermon is related by mutual ideas, almost always in very similar phraseology, to no less than thirty other sermons in this collection. Furthermore, as was said before, this sermon is in no way unusual. The same kind of relationship could be established for every other substantial sermon in the collection.[7] The other sermon whose authorship was specifically challenged by Professor Richardson, No. 43, is comparably related to twelve other sermons in the collection, although it is only three and one-half pages long in the modern edition. With full allowance for the limitations of medieval homiletics in their range of sources and ideas, it is inconceivable that these parallels are coincidental. It is also inconceivable, of course, that a borrowed sermon, being intruded into the collection, should be so fruitful a source for the whole, as Professor Richardson's hypothesis would lead him to assert.

It seems to me beyond reasonable doubt, then, that this sermon collection was written, sermon by sermon, by Bishop Brinton, and one must also presume that these sermons were preached. What, then, may one conclude of apparent anomalies? It seems to me that there are two possibilities. In the first place, it is possible that Bishop Brinton borrowed materials, including the passages challenged by Professor Richardson, with little regard for their contemporary applicability, that he damned traditional sins, as it were, without noticing that they were obsolete. This is possible. In many ways the latter half of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century were dark and strange times, and it is not inconceivable that important preachers no longer fully addressed themselves to problems of communication.

But the other possibility is both more attractive and, I think, more likely. That is, of course, that allowing for the special sensibilities of medieval preachers, these sermons constitute reliable evidence for social conditions of their own time. Both of the specific problems raised by Professor Richardson concern the efficiency of medieval administrative practices, and the practical genius of the Middle Ages did not run, after all, to rigorous enforcement of absolute bans. Professor Roth's study makes it perfectly clear that a colony of Jews, as such, did not exist in England after 1290.[8] But the passage about the Jews *in hac ciuitate gloriosa*, the point at issue in Sermon 91, does not necessarily imply a colony. The Jews to which Brinton refers need not have been formally organized, as in the thirteenth century, nor need there have been great numbers of them.

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[7] My own reservations would concern such sermons as No. 9, in honor of the Virgin Mary. It is very short and very general, and I would not be surprised to find that Brinton borrowed it very nearly *verbatim*. This kind of borrowing would not diminish the value of the collection, since the borrowed material was presumably appropriate to the fourteenth century occasion for which it was borrowed. On the other hand, I see no evidence that any of the longer, and more interesting, sermons were put together by anybody but Bishop Brinton.

The likelihood of Brinton accurately reflecting a contemporary social condition seems to me even greater in the case of sermon 43. The issue there, the right of rural deans to hear divorce cases, was, at least from one point of view, a matter of a *libertas* of the said deans. And was any ordinance more difficult to enforce in the Middle Ages than one which infringed upon a *libertas?*

Both possibilities remain. In any case, I would suggest that the original behind Ms. Harley 3760 was undoubtedly written by Bishop Brinton, sermon by sermon, and hence it provides a solid basis for estimating the minds of late fourteenth century ecclesiastics, and it must at least be taken into consideration in examining the social conditions in the late fourteenth century.

San Jose State College. William J. Brandt.

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[8] Cecil Roth, *The Jews of Medieval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, New Series, Vol. IX (Oxford, 1946), pp. 132-135.

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOK OF HOURS-MISSAL[1]

This manuscript offers some problems which are interesting and which, at the same time, make it difficult to establish accurately its date, provenance and status of its first owner; I shall, therefore, describe it in some detail.

The text is written on vellum 95 × 65 mm, in one column 45 × 30 mm of 14 lines. There are 291 folios, ruled in red ink, with quaternio gatherings. There is no enumeration either by folio or quaternio. The binding is of the nineteenth century, and like the manuscript itself, bears no marks of identification. The manuscript was acquired in France, sometime during the summer of 1919.

The script, in one hand throughout, is a carefuly executed gothic, characteristic of *de luxe* Books of Hours, and very difficult to date. The ink is brown, and it is not difficult to determine when the scribe began to use a new supply of ink or a freshly sharpened pen. All headings are done in a bright red ink.

The decorations are the work of an expert. The lettrines form the basis of the illumination; growing out of the lettrine is a crisply drawn gothic foliage motif which often encircles the whole page. A few birds, notably peacocks, are included in the design. No attempt has been made to portray human figures. The lettrines themselves, framed, flattened and closed, are in red, blue, green and white, covered with a good deal of gold leaf. There are no examples of marginal letters to serve as a guide to a miniaturist; perhaps an indication that the scribe and illuminator were one and the same person!

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[1] The manuscript is owned by the Rev. R. J. Lynch St. James Church, Cazanovia, New York, U.S.A. The term 'Book of Hours' is used in a broad sense: see L'abbé V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, I (Paris 1927) pp. IX ff.

Contents

1. Calendar (folios 1^r-6^v) January to June inclusive.

Januarius habet dies XXXI, luna XXX.

date	golden number	dominical letter	Roman calendar	
1[2]	III	a	Kal.	Circumcisio domini (*red*)
2		b		Octava sancti Stephani
3	XI	c		Octava sancti Johannis
4		d		Octava sanctorum Innocentium
5	XII	e	Non.	Octava sancti Thomae
6	VIII	f		Epiphania domini (*red*)
7		g		
8	XVI	a		
9	V	b		
10		c		Pauli primi eremite
11	XIII	d		
12	II	e		
13		f	Id.	Octava epiphanie
14	X	g		
15	XVIII	b		Marcelli pape
16	VIII	c		Anthonii abbatis
17		d		
18	XV	e		
19	IV	f		Fabiani et Sebastiani
20	XII	a		Agnetis virginis
21	I	b		Vincentii martiris (*red*)
22		c		
23	IX	d		
24		e		Conversio sancti Pauli, duplex (*red*)
25	XVII	f		
26	VI	g		Agnetis secundo
27		a		
28	XIII	b		Bathildis regine
29	III	c		
30				
31				

Februarius habet dies XXVIII vel XXIX.

date	golden number	dominical letter	Roman calendar	
1		d	Kal.	Brigide virginis
2	XI	e		Purificatio Marie (*red*)
3	XIX	f		Blasii episcopi et martiris, duplex
4	VIII	g		
5		a	Non.	Agathe virginis

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[2] The Column of dates has been added by myself.

6	XVI	b		Amandi et Vedasti (*red*)
7	V	c		
8		d		
9	XIII	e		
10	II	f		Scolastice virginis
11		g		
12	X	a		
13		b		
14	VIII	c		Valentini martiris
15	VII	d		
16		e		Juliane virginis
17	XV	f		
18	IV	g		
19		a		Eleutheri episcopi
20	XII	b		
21	I	c		
22		d		Cathedri sancti Petri (*red*)
23	IX	e		Milburge virginis
24		f		Mathie apostoli (*red*)
25	XVII	g		
26	VI	a		duplex
2		b		
28	XIV	c		Augustini episcopi
29				

Martius habet dies XXXI, luna XXX.

date	golden number	dominical letter	Roman calendar	
1	III	d	Kal.	David confessoris, duplex
2		e		
3	XI	f		
4		g		Adriani martiris
5	XIX	a		
6	VII	b		
7		c	Non.	Perpetue et Felicitatis
8	XVI	d		
9	V	e		
10		f		
11	XIII	g		
12	II	a		Gregorii pape
13		b		
14	X	c		
15		d	Id.	
16	XVIII	e		
17	VII	f		Ghertrudis virginis
18		g		
19	XV	a		
20	IV	b		
21		c		Benedicti abbatis
22	XII	d		

23	I	e	
24		f	
25	IX	g	Annuntiatio Marie
26		a	
27	XVII	b	Resurrectio domini duplex (*red*)
28	VI	c	
29		d	
30	XIV	e	
31	III	f	

Aprilis habet dies XXX, luna XXIX.

date	golden number	dominical letter	Roman calendar	
1		g	Kal.	Walrici episcopi
2	XI	a		
3	XIX	b		
4	VIII	c		Ambrosii episcopi, duplex
5		d	Non.	
6	XVI	e		Sixti martiris
7	V	f		
8		g		
9	XIII	a		
10	II	b		Leonis pape
11		c		
12	X	d		
13		e	Id.	
14	XVIII	f		Tyburtii Valeriani
15	VII	g		
16		a		
17	XV	b		
18	IV	c		
19		d		
20	XII	e		Victoris martiris, duplex
21	I	f		
22		g		
23	IX	a		Georgii martiris, duplex (*red*)
24		b		
25	XVII	c		Marci evangeliste (*red*)
27		e		
28	XIV	f		Vitalis martiris
29	III	g		
30		a		

Mayus habet dies XXXI, luna XXX.

date	golden number	dominical letter	Roman calendar	
1	XI	b	Kal.	Philippi et Jacobi (*red*)
2		c		
3	XIX	d		Inventio Crucis, duplex

4	VIII	e		
5		f		
6	XVI	g		Johannis ante portam latinam
7	V	a	Non.	
8		b		
9	XIII	c		Translatio sancti Nicolai
10	II	d		
11		e		
12	X	f		Pancratii episcopi
13		g		
14	XVIII	a		
15	VII	b	Id.	
16		c		Brandani martiris
17	XV	d		
18	IV	e		
19		f		Potentie virginis
20	XII[1]	g		
21	I	a		
22		b		
23	IX	c		
24		d		
25	XVII	e		Urbani pape, duplex
26	VI	f		
27		g		
28	XIV	a		
29	III	b		
30		c		
31	XI	d		Petronille virginis

Junius habet dies XXX, luna XXIX

date	golden number	dominical letter	Roman calendar	
1		e	Kal.	Nychomedis martiris
2	XIX	f		
3	VIII	g		
4	XVI	a		
5	V	b	Non.	Bonifatii episcopi
6		c		
7	XIII	d		
8	II	e		
9		f		Primi et Feliciani, duplex
10	X			
11		a		Barnabe apostoli (*red*)
12	XVIII	b		
13	VII	c	Id.	
14		d		Basilii episcopi (*red*)
15	XV	e		Viti et Modesti, duplex
16	IV	f		
17		g		
18	XII	a		

19	I	b	Gervasii et Prothasii
20			
21	IX	d	
22		e	
23	XVII	f	Vigilia
24	VI	g	Nativitas sancti Johannis (*red*)
25		a	Eligii episcopi (*red*)
26	XIV	b	Johannis et Pauli martiris
27	III	c	
28		d	Vigilia
29	XI	e	Petri et Pauli apostolorum (*red*)
30		f	Commemoratio Pauli

2. Incipit officium beate Marie virginis, quod dicitur per totum adventum.,
3. Ad Vesperas. (*red*) fol. 7^r-25^v.
   Oratio ad Mariam virginem[3]. (*red*)
   Obsecro te domina mea sancta Maria mater Dei pietate plenissima summi regis filia... fol. 26^r-32^r.
4. Oratio devota ad beatam virginem Mariam.[4] (*red*)
   Intemerata et in eternum benedicta singularis et incomparabilis virgo... fol. 32^r-37^v.
5. <Septem gaudia in honore beate virginis Marie.>
   Quicumque hec septem gaudia in honore beate Marie virginis semel in die dixerit centum die indulgentiarum optinebit a domino papa Clemente qui hec septem gaudia proprio stilo composuit.[5] (*red*) In the prayer *Obsecro te* fifteen *gaudia* are mentioned: *Et per illa sanctissima quindecim gaudia que habuisti de filio tuo...* fol. 28^r.
6. Oratio (*red*)
   Precor te piissime domine Jesu Christe propter illam eximiam caritatem...[6] fol. 43^v.
7. Anima Christi sanctissima sanctifica me...[7] fol. 45^v.
8. Die dominica hore de sancta Trinitate. Ad matutinas. (*red*) fol. 46^r.
9. Incipiunt hore de sancta Cruce. Ad Matutinas. (*red*) fol. 58^r.
10. Hore de sancto Spiritu. (*red*) fol. 71^r.
11. Incipit missa, beata Matre virgine.
    Introibo ad altare Dei... (*crossed out*) fol. 80^r.
12. Dignare domine isto sine peccato nos custodire... fol. 80^r.
13. Confessio. (*red*) fol. 80^r.
    Confiteor Deo celi et beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis Dei quia ego infelix peccator peccavi nimis contra legem Dei mei cogitatione locu-

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[3] See V. Leroquais, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff. The prayer follows the most common version.

[4] See Dom A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin* (Paris 1932) pp. 474 ff. The text follows what Dom Wilmart calls *un texte secondaire*, found in a fourteenth century formulary of Durham.

[5] It is unfortunate that the scribe does not identify the Clement, since a good deal of western Europe took sides with the anti-pope Clement VII; see L. Salembier, *The Great Schism of the West* (London 1907) p. 72.

[6] See V. Leroquais, *op. cit.* II, p. 100.

[7] See Dom Wilmart, *op. cit.*, p. 367 n. 6.

tione consensu visu verbo et opere mea culpa mea culpa mea maxima culpa. Ideo precor beatissimam Dei et gloriosam virginem Mariam et omnes sanctos et sanctas Dei et vos pater orare pro me peccatore. Amen.

14. Misereatur vestri... (*crossed out*) fol. 81^{r}.
15. Salve sancta parens... (*crossed out*).
16. Gloria Patri... Salve sancta parens... fol. 81^{v}.
17. Kyrie eleison... Gloria in excelsis Deo... (*crossed out*) fol. 82^{r}.
18. Oratio. (*red*) fol. 83^{v}.
    Concede nos famulos tuos...
19. Lectio libri Sapientie. (*red*) fol. 84^{r}. The Epistle, however, is taken from *Eccl.* XXIV, 14-6. The whole passage, along with the Gradual *benedicta et venerabilis* and Versicle *virgo Dei genetrix*, is crossed out.
20. Secundum Lucam (*red*) XI, 27-8 (*crossed out*) fol. 85^{r}.
21. Fidem catholicam (*red*). There follows the Nicene Creed which is crossed out fol. 85^{r}.
22. Offertorium (*red*) fol. 87^{v}. Felix namque es sacra virgo Maria...
23. Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Communio: beata viscera... (*crossed out*) fol. 88^{r}.
24. Post Communionem: gratiam tuam quesumus... 88^{r}.
25. There follows a series of readings from the Gospels:
    Secundum Joan. I, 1-14.
    Secundum Luc. I, 26-38.
    Secundum Matt. II, 1-12.
    Secundum Marc. XVI, 14-20.
    Secundum Matt. V, 1-12. fol. 88^{r}-98^{r}.
26. Incipiunt hore beate Marie virginis secundum consuetudinem romane ecclesie. Ad Matutinas. (*red*) fol. 98^{r}.
    Antiphona ad Prim.[8] Assumpta est Maria fol. 144^{v}.
    Capitulum ad Prim. que est ista... fol. 148^{r}. Ant. ad Non. pulchra es... fol. 166^{r}.
    Cap. ad Non. In plateis... fol. 168^{v}.
27. Incipiunt septem psalmi penitentiales fol. 193^{r}.
28. Letania Sanctorum fol. 208^{v}.
    The inclusion of some saints is worth noting: Linus, Cletus, Cyprianus, Georgius, Lupus, Victor cum sociis, Nichasius, Quintinus, Eustachius, Mauritius, Dyonisius, Donatus, Erasmus, Blasius, Leonardus, Ludovicus, Eligius, Egidius, Maria egyptiaca, Felicitas, Perpetua, Clara, Anna, Amalberga, Margareta, Barbara, Juliana, Elizabeth, Ursula, Martha.
29. Incipiunt vigilie mortuorum (*red*) fol. 224^{r}.

Although the text of the Book of Hours conforms to the Roman Usage, the calendar,[9] however, seems to correspond somewhat closely to those current in and around Bruges.[10] Likewise the ornamentation is, generally, Flemish in character and apperars to belong to the fifteenth century.

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[8] On the possibilty ? of locating Books of Hours by means of the Antiphons and Capitula of Prime and None see Sir F. Madden, 'Documents and Records', *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III (Oxford 1923) 40-4.

[9] The calendar agrees with the *Calendrier lunaire perpétuel* in M. le Comte de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie d'histoire et de géographie* (Paris 1889) p. 170.

[10] See Chanoine V. Leroquais, *Supplément aux livres d'heures manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale* (Macon 1943) p. 10.

In the calendar Easter is listed opposite March 27th; this fact, however, hardly entitles one to assert that the manuscript was copied during a year in which Easter actually fell on March 27th.[11]

Except for the fact that most of the prayers are in the masculine gender, *famulos tuos, ego infelix peccator*, there is no evidence about the original owner of the manuscript. However, we do find *salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas* fol. 215v.

Finally, there are two prayers *pro ministro nostro* which might indicate a Franciscan affiliation, fol. 216^{v}, 218^{v}. The word *minister* is too broad in meaning to allow for much certitude on this point. It would, therefore, be hazardous to go beyond stating that the manuscript belongs to the fifteenth century, is a Book of Hours and Missal combined, drawn up according to Roman Usage, destined for someone in the area of Bruges.

J. Reginald O'Donnell C. S. B.

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[11] For the years in which Easter fell on March 27th see Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ST LEWINNA

The exact location of one of the earliest Christian churches in England has puzzled scholars for many centuries. This church or "minster" was the place where at one time lay the remains of Lewinna, a seventh century British saint, the only woman martyr who has been associated with the country of Sussex.[1] Had it not been for a strange set of accidents, the existence of this early church might never have been established; for no contemporary records of St Lewinna's life, martyrdom, or burial-place have been found. The legend of the Saint came to light only when, in 1058, more than 350 years after her death, some of her bones were stolen from a church in Sussex by Balgerus, a relic-hunter from the continent, and taken to the church of St Winnoc in Bergue, a small town near Dunkirk. An account of the theft, written by Drogo, a monk who knew Belgerus, indicates that St Lewinna had resposed in a monastery church dedicated to St Andrew and situated in Sussex, not far from the sea.[2] In this vaguely described

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[1] Four Sussex Saints are noticed in the records: St Wilfrid, St Lewinna, St Cuthman, and St Richard. Of these only St Lewinna was born in Sussex. M. A. Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex* (Lewes, 1865), p. 23. See also Florence Pagden, (now Mrs H. Winstanley) *History of Alfriston*, 9th ed. (Hove, 1950), p. 19.

[2] The best sources of information about St Lewinna are in the Bollandists, J. B. Sollier and others, *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V (Paris and Rome, 1868), pp. 608-627. See also M. Alford, *Fides Regia Britannica*, 4 vols. (Leodii, 1663), II, 394, and K. Povey, 'St. Lewinna, The Sussex Martyr,' *The Sussex County Magazine*, II, N°. 7 (Lewes, 1928), pp. 280-291. Mr Povey, besides summarizing Drogo's account as given in *Acta Sanctorum*, describes the manuscripts from which Sollier in 1726 took the story. Furthermore, he gives two pictures of St Lewinna and an account of, and a picture of, the reliquary holding the only bone (a part of a finger) now preserved. Of most interest is Mr Povey's new theory of St Lewinna's burial-place. See below, pp. 4-7.

Good summaries of the account given in the *Acta Sanctorum* are found in W. H. Blaauw, church St Lewinna had been held in great honor and an imposing list of her

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'On the Translation of Saint Lewinna from Seaford, in 1058,' *Sussex Archaeologicla Collections* (hereafter referred to as *S. A. C.*), I (London, 1848), 46-54; M. A. Lower, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-19; *Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, 2 vols. (London, 1907), II, 1f; and W. C. Cook, *The Story of Sussex* (Hove, 1920), pp. 45-49.

Brief mention of the Saint may be found in the following works: *Ecclesiastica Historia Centuriae Magdeburgica*, 7 vols. (Basil, 1574), III, 674: 51; *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. Mabillon, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668-1702), VI, Pt. II, 112-26, A. Butler, *Vies des Pères des Martyrs et des Autres Principaux Saints*, 16 vols. (Lille, 1824), VI, 422; M. L'Abbé Pétin, *Dictionnaire Hagiographie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1850), *sub* Lewine; C. Bohun Smythe, 'The First and Last Days of the Saxon Rule in Sussex,' *S. A. C.* IV (London, 1851), pp. 67-92; M. A. Lower, 'Memorials of the Town, Parish, and Cinque-Port of Seaford,' *S. A. C.* VII (London, 1854), pp. 73-150; T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (to 1327), 3 vols. in 4 (London, 1862-71), I, 829; M. A. Lower, *Notes on Seaford* (Lewes, 1868), pp. 1-39; W. Smith and H. Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 4 vols. (London, 1882), III, *sub* Lewinna; R. Stanton, *A Menology of England and Wales* (London, 1887), p. 357 and suppl. p. 662; W. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1888), p. 460; *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum*, 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1889-93), I, 588; *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIV (Bruxelles, 1895), p. 30; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898-1901), II, *sub* Lewinna; A. B. C. Dunbar, *A Dictionary of Saintly Women*, 2 vols. (London, 1904-05), I, 459; J. C. Wall, *Shrines of British Saints* (London, 1905), pp. 30f, 51ff; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age: Bio-Bibliographie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905-07), II, *sub* Lewinne; S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, 16 vols. (Edinburgh, 1914), XVI, 254; F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (London, 1924), *sub* Lewina; J. Baudot, *Dictionnaire D'Hagiographie* (Paris, 1925), *sub* Lewine; L. F. Salzman, 'Some Sussex Miracles,' *S. A. C.* LXVI (Cambridge, 1925), p. 62; D. Attwater, *A Dictionary of Saints* (London, 1938), p. 187; *The Book of Saints, A Dictionary of the Servants of God by the Benedictine Monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate*, 4th ed. (New York, 1947), *sub* Lewina; E. S. Duckett, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars* (New York, 1947), p. 176 and note 116; C. G. Loomis, *White Magic* (Cambridge, 1948), *passim*; W. H. Godfrey, ed. *Guide to the Church of St Andrew, Alfriston*, 5th Imp. (Eastbourne, 1949), p. 1; and F. Pagdan, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21, 26f.

All that is known of St Lewinna is that she was a British woman who flourished in the time of King Egbert of Kent, who died in 674, and that she fell a victim to the heathen Saxons while Archbishop Theodore was living. Theodore died in 690. Therefore, St Lewinna probably died between 680 and 690. See Alford, *op. cit.*, II, 394. There is some possibility that she was a convert of St Wilfrid's, when the latter was in exile in Sussex. See W. R. W. Stephens, *Diocesan Histories, Selsey-Chichester* (London, 1881), pp. 13f. and E. S. Duckett, *op. cit.*, p. 176, n. 116.

Some very misleading statements have been made from time to time avout St Lewinna. For example, it has been said that she was of royal blood. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, I, 459. This author was apparently led astray by a passage in J. Lingard, *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1810), p. 119, which reads, "Before the close of the seventh century Southern Saxons could boast of several communities of nuns... princesses no less illustrious for their piety than for their birth". There is no evidence at all that St Lewinna was one of these nuns or that she was a princess. Another belief, equally erroneous, was that St Lewinna brought St Neot's bones to Croyland because of the invasion of the Danes. See Bohun Smythe, *op. cit.*, IV, 79. This tradition, no doubt, grew from a confusion of St Lewinna miracles had been put up for all to read.[3] But just where this church was located has proved to be a difficult question to answer. Local church records furnish little or no help. In an attempt to place the church more definitely, one can only study the topography of the southern part of Sussex as it is today and compare the findings with Drogo's description of the vicinity, realizing the while that not only the topography but also the monuments of the areas have changed markedly in the course of the centuries.[4] Then, by the simple process of eliminating some of the suggested burial-places of the Saint and of exploding the most recent theory to be advanced,[5] one may arrive at the most tenable conclusion.

Early writers mentioned several possible locations for the church dedicated to St Andrew wherein the Saint had been buried. Of these Seaford was long regarded as the most likely spot. The belief probably rested on a phrase in Drogo's account which described the landing place of Belgerus as at or near a ford of the sea.[6] Having seized upon this hint on the part of the Bollandists, many writers looked no further than the town which was named Seaford.[7] Furthermore, many of the compilers, who have usually devoted only a sentence or two to St Lewinna, have followed this lead unquestioningly.[8]

During the last century, however, several Sussex historians have rejected Seaford as the location,[9] because the associations of the Saint with Seaford are tenuous ones based upon an unwarranted reading of Drogo's narrative, because they found no evidence that a church dedicated to St Andrew ever stood in Seaford, or because they concluded that the description of the landing place of Balgeru's ship did not fit Seaford so well as it did Cuckmere Haven, some three miles to the east of Seaford.[10]

A few writers have attempted to show that Balgerus, after having landed at Seaford, saw a church at Lewes or a monastery at Beddingham and that Lewin-

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with the "certain great lady, Lefwina by name," who did bring St Neot's remains to Croyland. See *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1854), p. 111, And, finally, Lewinna has been wrongly assigned to the 5th century in *The Book of Saints-A Dictionary of the Servants of God by the Benedictine Monks of St Augustine's Abey, Ramsgate*, 4th ed. pp. 370, 669.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 615.

[4] See below, p. 9 and note 45. See also *Sussex*, 10th ed. rev. by R. J. Jessup for the Little Guide Series (London, 1949), p. 3.

[5] K. Povey, *op. cit.*, pp. 290f.

[6] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 615 "... verum digna nominis ethymologia: Sevordt enim Teutonice dictum, Latino eloquio maris vadum dicitur."

[7] For example, see A. Butler, *op. cit.*, VI, 422; M. L'Abbé Pétin, *op. cit.*, *sub* Lewinna; R. Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 357, where the phrase 'in or near Seaford' is used; A. B. C. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, I, 459; S. Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, XVI, 254; J. Baudot, *op. cit.*, *sub* Lewine; and *The Book of Saints, A Dictionary of the Servants of God by the Benedictine Monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate*, *sub* Lewina. Cf. M. A. Lower, 'Memorials of the Town, Parish, and Cinque-Port of Seaford,' *S. A. C.*, VII, 76, and W. H. Blaauw, *op. cit.*, I, 48.

[8] For example, W. Smith and H. Wace, *op. cit.*, III, *sub* Lewinna; F. G. Holweck, *op. cit.* *sub* Lewina; and D. Attwater, *op. cit.*, *sub* Lewina.

[9] See below, pp. 8ff. and M. A. Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex*, p. 319, note. Cf. K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[10] M. A. Lower, *ibid.*, K. Povey, *Ibid.*, and F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

na was in some way associated with one of these places. For example, Alford, perhaps struck by the Saint's name, suggested that Lewinna might have had her name from the town of Lewes or the town its name from the Saint.[11] Blaauw went even further. After quoting Drogo's description of the harbor, he said, "It would be difficult to describe more accurately than the ancient topographer has done the mouth of the river Ouse which now forms Newhaven Harbour, but then entered the sea near Seaford."[12] Although Blaauw expressed the feeling that Alford's association of the names of the Saint and the town might be unwarranted, he stated it as his belief that Balgerus could have been a church or "monastery" at Lewes. He said that a "monastery may have been there. The position and distance from Seaford correspond, and there was, undoubtedly, an ancient church of St. Andrew in Lewes, which is mentioned in the charters of Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, A. D. 1121, and of Seffrid, bishop in 1190."[13] It is now clear, however, that if Balgerus landed at Seaford, he could not have seen a church at Lewes because of the distance, eleven miles, and because of the downs intervening.[14] If, as it is now generally agreed, he landed at Cuckmere Haven,[15] he was nearly three miles farther away.

The argument for Beddingham is even less convincing than that for Lewes. Blaauw, in the article already referred to, says that no such monastery as Balgerus is supposed to have seen "is known to have existed, but there may have been one, notwithstanding the records. In Dugdale's Monasticon (Vol. VIII, p. 1164) are deeds relating to a dispute concerning lands at Denton (a village two miles and a half from Seaford, on the road taken, probably, by the monk) claimed A. D. 801 by Caenulph, King of Mercia, as belonging to the Monastery of Bedinghamme..."[16] But even if Balgerus landed at Seaford, as Blaauw concluded, he could not have seen a church at Beddingham, nine miles aways, because of the downs. From Cuckmere Haven, his chances of seeing St Andrews, Beddingham up the Cuckmere valley, although better from this point, would still have been very slight.[17] The distance is extreme, and the church at Beddingham today is not visible from Cuckmere Haven.[18] And it is significant that, as at Lewes, no associations with the Saint have been preserved.

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[11] M. Alford, *op. cit.*, II, 394.

[12] W. H. Blaauw, *op. cit.*, I, 48.

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 49. Cf. J. C. Wall, *op. cit.*, pp. 30f, and 51.

[14] W. de St. Croix, 'The Supposed Monastery of Beddingham,' *S. A. C.*, XXI (Lewes, 1869), p. 29. This writer points out that if Seaford was the landing-place, Balgerus did not see Beddingham, for physical contours made it impossible. Lewes is two and one-half mile farther away from Seaford in almost the same line. If Beddingham could not be seen from Seaford, Lewes could not. Cf. F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[15] This explanation was first given by M. A. Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex*, p. 319, note. "My own opinion is, that the haven reached by the shipmen was that of Cuckmere, which though not strictly speaking in Seaford, forms the eastern boundary of that parish for a considerable distance. This little harbour exactly corresponds with Drogo's description, there being a high cliff on each side, the one culminating westward at Seaford Head, and the other eastward at Beachy Head. The monastery of St. Andrew, I take to be Alfriston church, which is still dedicated to that saint, and where there was a seat of religion in very early times. This would be visible from Cuckmere, the distance being between four and five miles."

[16] W. H. Blaauw, *op. cit.*, I, 49. The passage Blaauw quoted actually reads, "ut rectius attingere debet ad monasterium in *Readyngham.*" The italics are mine. The passage can be found in Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. VI, Part III (London, 1849) p. 1164. Blaauw refers to this volume as VIII.

The latest theory to be advanced adds a new name, Jevington, to the list of locations suggested for the burial-place of St Lewinna. In an article published in 1928, Mr Povey reviewed the story of Lewinna and brought the history of her relics down to modern times.[19] The contributions of this article, as hinted above, are real and important ones. At the end of the article, however, Mr. Povey indulged his fancy freely to support his contention that St Lewinna had been originally buried at St Andrew's Church, Jevington. He drew a sketch-map upon which he laid down the route taken by Balgerus from the coast to Jevington, and he reproduced the very thoughts the monk had while making his journey.[20] Although Mr Povey was satisfied that his was the best of all existing explanations,[21] his hypothesis calls for careful checking against a few facts which he has lightly waved aside.

Mr Povey accepted the view that Balgerus landed at Cuckmere Haven.[22] From Cuckmere Haven as a center, therefore, he inspected an area of about ten miles in every landward direction, with the purpose of finding the "minster" that Balgerus had visited. Mr Povey concerned himself primarily with two questions about any church within the area: "Can it have been St. Andrew's minster?" and "If it is too near the harbour to have been the minster, why did not Balgerus find it and say his Mass in it?"[23]

In answering his first question, Mr Povey rejected the suggestion of Lower that Balgerus might well have seen a church at Alfriston where today stands a church dedicated to St Andrew.[24] His rejection is the more surprising because he accepted the suggestion that Cuckmere Haven was the likely landing place and because he made this further admission: "No church or site of a church is visible from the immediate neigbourhood of the Haven except Alfriston Church, of which only the spire can be seen."[25] Notwithstanding this statement, Mr Povey concluded that Balgerus did not see Alfriston, (1) because Mr Povey found no evidence that "the church existed at all before about 1200," and (2) because he felt that, even if an earlier church had stood on the site, "there is no reason to suppose that it resembled the present one in possessing an exceptionally high spire as local churches go."[26]

Up to this point Mr Povey's explanation is at least a reasonable one, although his conclusions about the existence of evidence of an early church at Alfriston should not be considered as final.[27]

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[17] F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and see above, p. 3 and especially note 14.

[18] F. Pagden, *Ibid.* W. H. Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 1, suggests that the church had to be either Beddingham or Alfriston. But Beddingham is not visible from Cuckmere Haven or from Seaford, as we have seen. Cf. K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[19] K. Povey, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-291. For a description of this article, see above, note 2.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.* As Balgerus landed on the evening before Easter Day, he was looking for a church to say Mass on Easter morning. See *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 615.

[24] *The Worthies of Sussex*, p. 319, note. Part of Lower's note is quoted above in note 15.

[25] K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[26] *Ibid.*

The second question posed by Mr Povey gave him more trouble. He felt called upon to explain why Balgerus had not gone to Friston Church, when, according to Povey's own explanation of the route travelled, the monk had gone half way to the church at Levington before seeing it; and when, according to Povey's sketch-map, Balgerus had rested within a few hundred yards of Friston and would have seen the church there.[28] Relying again upon sheer fancy, Mr Povey said that Balgerus preferred to go to an "obviously important place" rather than "to waste time looking for a church at Friston, where, if there is one, we may find it locked, or lacking in the essentials of the Mass."[29] And, as if this were not enough, Mr Povey said that the illness scene ("a supernatural presage") and the meeting with the old man (according to Mr Povey, this man was St Winnoc himself, who was out to assist his friends in this relic-hunt) were inserted by Drogo to lead up to the discovery of the important church at Jevington, where St Lewinna's body had lain.[30]

Strangely enough, Mr Povey's assumption, that Balgerus had traversed one half of the distance to the "obviously important place" before seeing it, runs counter to Drogo's narrative, which Mr Povey knew. Drogo's words are sufficiently clear: "Cernit itaque a longe monasterium, pene tribus leugis ab illo portu disparatum. Unde adeo laetus efficitur, et uno tantum comite assumpto, iter accelerare aggreditur."[31] Mr Povey tried to explain away these words, speciously, it seems, by implying that Drogo had complicated matters for himself by first stating that Balgerus saw the minster from the harbor when he did not mean that at all. In this connection Mr Povey said that while Drogo may have intended us to believe that Balgerus saw the minster from the harbor, "he does not expressly say how far Balgerus' search extended before he saw the minster..."[32]

Two things may be said in favor of Mr Povey's contention that Jevington was the place. There is evidence that a church dedicated to St Andrew was standing at Jevington in Saxon times.[33] Moreover the Church of St Andrew at Jevington today has a tower which is considered to be of Saxon workmanship.[34] Had Balgerus taken the route outlined by Mr Povey he might conceivably have seen this tower.

Unfortunately, Mr Povey has adduced no instance of St Lewinna's having been associated in any way with Jevington, nor referred to any claim put forward by any historian that the Saint had ever been honored there. This recent hypothesis, thefore, will hardly win wide acceptance.

The elimination of Jevington leaves Alfriston as the only other place worth serious consideration. And the few facts available indicate that this town still has the best claim to St Lewinna and to her burial-place. Drogo's statement that Balgerus saw a church from the harbor has been quoted. It has also been noted that several Sussex writers, including Mr Povey, have concluded that the harbor described was Cuckmere Haven and that the only church visible from that harbor was the one at Alfriston.[35] So far so good. But can Mr Povey's two objections to Alfriston Church be met?[36] And are there any other grounds for the belief that Alfriston Church was the one Balgerus saw? From a review of all the available material on the subject and from a recent inspection of the area, it appears to me that there are several bits of evidence, hitherto overlooked, which have some cumulative importance.

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[27] See below, p. 8.

[28] See K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 291 and this author's sketch of the territory, p. 290.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[31] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 615.

[32] K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

[33] M. A. Lower, *A Compendious History of Sussex*, 2 vols. (London, 1870), II, 1.

[34] *Ibid.* Cf. K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 291, where the author cites the article on church architecture in *Sussex* (Victoria County History series) for his reference on this point.

In the first place, although Mr Povey doubted the existence of a church at Alfriston "before about 1200," there is rather strong evidence that there was a church there long before the present one was built, about 1360. Mr Lower held that there was a seat of religion at Alfriston in early times, and other Sussex historians have hinted at an earlier church than the present one.[37] There was certainly a mound that was used as a Saxon burial-place where Alfriston Church now stands, a fact that would suggest a place of worship nearby.[38] Moreover, the legend connected with the building of the present Church implies earlier ones on the same spot. According to this legend, the builders made many attempts to build the new church in a field to the west of the High Street on land called Savyne Crofts.[39] Each night the blocks of stone placed at the new site were hurled through the air to the Tye, where the earlier churches had presumably stood. This preternatural activity went on for some time, until the workmen decided that the location of the church could not be changed. When they noted further that four oxen were lying in the Tye with rumps together and facing outward, they decided that the building of the church on the older location was clearly indicated and that the new one hould be cruciform.[40]

Mr. Povey's second objection, that a small church would not have been visible at a distance of three leagues may also be partially met. As Mr Lower has explained, Drogo's phrase, *tribus leugis*, probably meant about four or five miles.[41] If so, Alfriston Church was within a reasonable distance, even if the tower was not exceptionally high.[42] Furthermore, Balgerus could hardly have been at the very coast line when he first saw the Church. It is more likely that he sailed for some distance into what was then quite a large harbor. Certainly there is a very important hint as to the topography of the area in the eleventh century in the name Cuckmere. Although the Cuckmere is now a very small and winding streamlet, although the outlet today is extremely narrow, and although the harbor has disappeared, these conditions could hardly have obtained in Balgerus' time. Cuckmere is not an old river name.[43] The compound records the fact that in early times a broad expanse of water lay behind the headlands; it was an expanse of water large enough to make Cuckmere Haven a port of considerable importance.[44]

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[35] See above, pp. 4 f. and K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[36] *Ibid.* The two objections are listed on p. 5, above.

[37] M. A. Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex*, p. 319, note, and F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, pp. 20f. K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 290, assumes that there was a church at Alfriston in 1058.

[38] L. V. Grinnell, *The Ancient Burial-Mounds of England* (London, 1936), pp. 171-74; and W. H. Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[39] L. V. Grinnell, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Savyne Croft was probably Seven Crofs, sometimes called Saffron Crofts by the upper classes. See F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[40] Similar legends of preternatural events where saints were supposedly active are common. For an example, see G. R. and W. D. Stephens, "Cuthman: A Neglected Saint," *Speculum*, XIII (October, 1938), 448ff.

[41] M. A. Lower, *The Worthies of Sussex*, p. 319, note.

[42] Cf. Mr. Povey's second objection to Alfriston Church, p. 5, above.

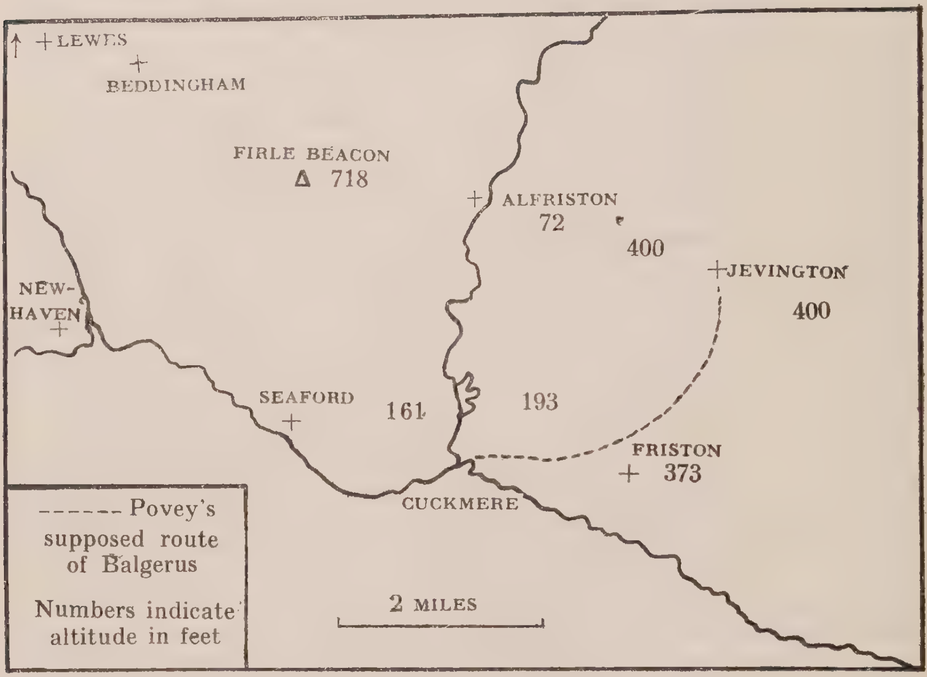

Fig. 1

The topographical features of the area today lend support to the implication in the place-name that a lake or large river-mouth once emptied into the sea at Cuckmere Haven. The great bowl-shaped depression behind the coastal hills here, as in many other places on the Sussex coast, has been gradually filling in with alluvial deposits while the sea has been receding.[45] It is easy, however, to imagine the appearance of this area in early days; for the sweeps of low meadow land, sometimes locally called "brooks," are still occasionally inundated when high tides occur at the same time as heavy rains in the Weald.[46]

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[43] Eilert Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), p. 109, and A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 parts (Cambridge, 1929-30), Pt. I, p. 4.

[44] F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, pp. 43f. Cf. also T. W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex*, 2 vols. (Lewes, 1935), I, 6f., for a description of the river today.

[45] For reference to these changes, see note 4, above; F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, pp. 43f; and *Victoria History of the County of Sussex* (London, 1905), I, 25f.

[46] F. Pagden, *op. cit*, p. 45.

AUG 11

If the implications of these facts are acceptable, it is reasonable to suppose that the ship of Balgerus ran into the protected harbor at Cuckmere Haven for some distance at least before it dropped anchor for the night.[47] Speculation as to how far the ship may have run in is quite unnecessary; any distance it travelled would have brought Balgerus nearer to the only church visible from the harbor. Is it not likely, then, that Balgerus, having seen Alfriston Church at a distance of something less than four and a half miles, would have gone to this Church by the easy route of the Cuckmere valley? Would he have sought by a longer and more difficult route a church which could not be seen and whose existence was unknown to him?[48] Tired as he was from the rough voyage just completed,[49] he would naturally have gone to the church he saw, the one at Alfriston.

Finally, the associations with St Lewinna which are lacking elsewhere are found at Alfriston. A few of the traditions linking the Saint to Alfriston Church are added here for their interest and for whatever value as evidence they may have.

In the north wall of the chancel at Alfriston Church there is a deep recess, variously called an Easter Sepulcher, a ministerium,[50] and a tomb. The author of the *History of Alfriston* in describing this tomb says,

> It has octagon shafts, and an ogee canopy is finished with a trefoil of oak leaves. At the lower ends of the canopy are respectively a dog, curled up, with its head betwist [*sic*] its legs, and the face of a nun. Can it be that the few bones which Balgerus [*sic*] left us of S. Lewinna rest beneath these stones, being carefully preserved from the former church or monasterium? From its position on the north side of the altar one is led to suppose that it is the tomb of the founder.[51]

Mrs Winstanley is probably right about the tomb's having been that of the founder of the present church.[52] In spite of Drogo's contention that Balgerus had to leave some of the Saint's bones in the place where she was buried,[53] the argument can hardly be sustained that any of these bones remain in this particular tomb.[54] But the decorations of the tomb are of some interest. The representation of the nun is a peculiar one: there are marks indicating mutilations of the head and possibly of the arms. These mutilations may or may not be the result of recent accidents. Moreover, what has been called a dog may rather represent an ox, echoing the legend of the building of Alfriston Church and St

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[47] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 614f, for the description of the trip and of the harbor.

[48] K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 290. Mr Povey's sketch shows the hills to be climbed and the roundabout trip to be made if Balgerus went to Jevington. See Fig. 1. My sketch is based upon G. Newnes, *Newnes' Motorists' Touring Map*; pr. by John Bartholomew (Edinburgh, n. d.).

[49] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 614f. and Cf. K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[50] F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 26f.

[52] But Mrs Winstanley has always believed that the theft of St Lewinna's relics took place at Alfriston. See F. Pagden, *op. cit.*, p. 21. When I talked with her in 1951, she reiterated her belief.

[53] *Acta Sanctorum*, July, V, 616f.

[54] See above, note 2, for discussion of the one bone of St Lewinna now preserved, ad K. Povey, *op. cit.*, p. 288, for a fuller history of the attempts to preserve her bones.

Lewinna's influence there in the fourteenth century.[55] The long, square snout of the animal is not a dog's snout, nor is the long, thin tail that of any breed of dogs known today. It is possible at least that these decorations commemorate the martyr so long associated with Alfriston Church and buried somewhere near if not in the Church.

The tradition of St Lewinna's connection with Alfriston Church also persists among the local residents.[56] Mrs Winstanley has long held that the Saint rested near Alfriston. The present rector of Alfriston Church, H. Stewart-Mathias, also believes there is the possibility of a nearby grave. In 1951 the latter told the writer that as recently as the summer of 1950, a group of girls belonging to a local institution (possibly one having St Lewinna as patron saint) visited Alfriston Church and showed a lively interest in the tomb just described.

It seems obvious, then, that at this late date no completely satisfying proof that St Lewinna was buried at Alfriston can be adduced. The legend of the Saint is sufficiently weird in its details to arouse skepticism at many points. The fact that St Lewinna was buried and long venerated in a Christian church dedicated to St Andrew and near the Sussex coast is less doubtful. And, finally, the accuracy of Drogo's description of the harbor which the relic-hunters entered is hardly to be questioned; for the harbor entrance can be seen at Cuckmere Haven today. From that entrance the only visible church is that of St. Andrew at Alfriston. Therefore, of the possible places where in the seventh century St Lewinna and her few companions cherished the Cross and paid for their beliefs with their lives, Alfriston still holds the strongest claims.

United States Military Academy. George R. Stephens.

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[55] See above, p. 1 and note 3.

[56] See above, *passim*, for reference to Lower, Cook, and Pagden and their beliafs in St Lewinna's connection with the Alfriston area.

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